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HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN WALES

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A

History of the Church in Wales.

BY

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PREFACE.

THE History of the Church in Wales, too often regarded as remote dioceses in the province of Canterbury, has been singularly neglected by English historians. It presents to the student many interesting features as well as difficult problems. From a desire to find out for myself I have tried to discuss some of the problems in these pages, but no discussion can be conducted with any advantage save upon the foundation of ascertained facts. I regard these chapters as a contribution towards a more exhaustive study of the problems of Welsh Church history. I offer my contribution with considerable diffidence. No one that pursues his studies near great libraries knows how difficult it is for a person living in an industrial parish to acquaint himself with the latest historical researches. These chapters were not hastily put together for any particular purpose, but they represent the toil of a lifetime. It is my earnest hope that the student of the History of Wales will find them of some value and help.

D. A. J.

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INTRODUCTION.

MY aim in these pages is to give an account of the Church in Wales from the earliest times, by judicious selection and elimination, without a tinge of bias or prejudice. What I conceive to be the function of the historian may be briefly stated. When he has to relate great ecclesiastical and educational changes, and the rise of great movements, he does but half his duty if he merely relates the events. In an account, for instance, of the rise of Monasticism, Protestantism, or Methodism, it is not enough to describe the characters of the chief actors only, and the work which they accomplished. The account, in order to be fair and intelligible, must take cognizance of the work of those who had prepared the ground, their opportunities, and the conditions under which they laboured. The scientific historian is no longer the mere annalist or the graphic narrator of facts. It is his business to make the past live again, to make the men and events of bygone times living realities, in order to inspire us with new hopes for the future of humanity. There are periods of history when men contended passionately for objects which now look absurdly disproportionate to the interest and sacrifice they called forth. There are other periods of history, with respect to which the sources are scanty and obscure, times of fierce warfare, of intellectual and moral lassitude, when the evidence is conflicting, and

the facts to be extricated from a mass of traditions, from the exaggerations of chroniclers, from biassed reports and statistics, from contemporary letters, memoirs, registers, and all kinds of records. No little scientific insight and activity of mind are required to determine what the facts really are. The historian must sift and select. It was Gibbon's opinion that "an enlightened age requires from the historian some tincture of philosophy and criticism." While engaged in this task let him beware lest a tincture of bias or theory infuse itself into his own selection. It is a French saying that the first qualification of the historian is to lack the inventive faculty, "C'est de n'avoir pas assez d'esprit pour inventer." The springs of action are too difficult to trace, but the causes and consequences of events can, with difficulty, be explored and classified.

We also realize more and more, as we study the history of individuals and nations, that time takes little account of conventional greatness, and consigns whole hosts of those who had acquired much renown in their day to oblivion, and confers historic immortality on many who, in their generation, were obscure and unknown outside their narrow circle. On the map of history the mountains of one age become the thorny ground of another. Opinions alter, manners change, feelings pass away, but truth endures for ever. Falsehood and malicious criticism may live long, but the doomsday of historical investigation will come upon them, and slowly but inevitably will expose their hollowness. Thus a knowledge of history tends to widen our horizon, and train us to a habit of impartial judgment, by removing us beyond the interests of

party and popular prejudices. We can look back and study the history of Britons and Saxons, Normans and Welsh princes, Yorkists and Lancastrians, Tudors and Stuarts, Anglicans and Methodists, with unimpassioned calmness. But it is impossible to understand the chief actors without reference to their religious, educational, and social environment, and the race to which they belonged. Thus, in order to understand the ecclesiastical and political history of Wales in the eleventh and succeeding centuries, it is absolutely necessary to be familiar with the events of earlier centuries.

History of the Church in Wales.

CHAPTER I.

The Dawn.

BY whom and when the Christian Religion was first introduced into Britain is a question which has deeply interested ecclesiastical historians in every succeeding age. The testimony of Gildas,[1] a learned Briton of the sixth century, is of considerable value. According to him, the Gospel began to be preached in Britain about the time of the memorable revolt under Boadicea. Speaking of this revolt, together with its disastrous termination, he adds, "Meanwhile, to the island stiff with frost and cold, and in a far distant corner of the earth, remote from the visible sun, He, the true Sun, even Christ, first yields His rays and precepts. He spread, not only from the temporal firmament, but from the highest heaven beyond all times, His bright gleam to the whole world in the latest days, as we know, of Tiberius Cæsar. At that time the religion of Christ was propagated without any hindrance, because the Emperor, contrary to the wishes of the Senate, threatened with death informers

[1] *De Excidio Britanniae*, Sect 8–11, edited by Hugh Williams, M.A. (Cymmrodorion Record Series).

against the soldiers of that same religion." Gildas continues his story: "Though these precepts had a lukewarm reception from the inhabitants, nevertheless, they continued unimpaired with some, with others less so, until the nine years persecution of the tyrant Diocletian." Of the British martyrs who suffered under that persecution he mentions three,[1] Saint Alban of Verulam, Aaron and Julius, citizens of Caerleon.[2] One finds it difficult to understand why historians have doubted this story. The *Book of Llandav* refers to the early local tradition at Caerleon, and there is no reason why the story should not be accepted. Following the Roman tradition, Giraldus Cambrensis ascribes the conversion of the Britons to Fagan and Dyfan, the emissaries of Eleutherius, who was elected pope, A.D. 117; and there are churches dedicated to Fagan and Dyfan in the country of the Silures. There is authentic proof that Christianity had established itself in Britain during the second century.[3] We have the evidence of Tertullian (A.D. 208) that distant parts of this island had become subject to Christ. Eusebius is more explicit, and positively declares that some of the Apostles or their immediate disciples had passed over the ocean, and preached in the British Isles. We know that three British bishops were present at the Synod of Arles in 314. The Council of Nicea in 325 was summoned from all parts by Constantine, himself connected

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[1] "*Sanctum Albanum Verolamiensem, Aaron et Julium Legionum urbis ceterosque utriusque sexus diversis in locis . . . dico.*"

[2] Probably Caerleon-on-Usk in the land of the Silures.

[3] There is no evidence that it was brought straight from the East, but it is not without significance that at the Council of Whitby, Colman appealed to the authority of St. John against Wilfrid.

with Britain, and we may safely assume that there were British representatives at the council. The presence of British bishops at various Gallican councils is attested by their signatures, as at Tours in 461, Vannes in 465, Orleans in 511, Paris in 555.

Possibly the *Triads*[1] solve the problem. They represent a very old tradition. From these we learn that the Silurian princes, Caratacus and his father, Brân or Brennus, and the whole family, were taken captive to Rome, and that Brân, with other members of the family, became converts to Christianity. After seven years they had permission to return, and were the means of introducing the knowledge of Christ among their countrymen. The liberated captives were accompanied by others, and the names of three of them are mentioned—Ilid, Cyndav, and Arwystli.[2] Inasmuch as Brân and Caratacus were Silurian princes, we may safely conclude that Christianity made its way into Wales as early as into any other part of Britain.

We are provided with a glimpse of the state of learning in the island in the fourth and fifth centuries by the history of Morgan or Pelagius. That he was a Briton is established by the evidence of his opponents, of whom the chief were St. Augustine[3] and St. Jerome. He appears to have spent some years in Gaul and Rome. When the Goths were over-running Italy, and advancing toward Rome, Pelagius fled to Sicily, and afterwards to Africa. During his stay in Africa, he was accused of heresy. His opinions, and those of his disciple

[1] In their present form they belong to a comparatively late period. See *Cymmrodor*, XI., 126.

[2] See *Gwaith Gwallter Mechain*, III., 307.

[3] *Ep.* 106 *ad Paulinum.*

Celestius, were deemed very unsound by the African Christians. He asserted the freedom of man's will, and denied the doctrine of original sin, and drew upon himself, after a controversy with Jerome and Augustine, the censure of the Latin Fathers. A council or synod was held at Carthage, where Pelagius was condemned. The storm grew in intensity, and the bitterest feelings were aroused. Eventually, the Pelagians were condemned by provincial councils everywhere, and treated as outlaws. But the heresy had taken a firmer root in Britain than elsewhere, where it was propagated by Agricola, son of Bishop Severianus. When the emperor and pope had espoused the cause of the Anti-Pelagians, councils were held in Gaul, and in 429 it was agreed to send Germanus and Lupus to Britain, to put down the heresy and bring back the British Christians to a right way of thinking. Constantius of Lyons wrote an account of these events, some sixty years later, and his account is copied by Bede and Nennius. In the island of Britain there was much disorganization and confusion on account of the withdrawal of the Roman legions. In 447 Germanus or Garmon paid a second visit.[1] He now established many colleges, and consecrated bishops in many parts of the country, especially among the Silurians, whose princes had long taken the lead as patrons of Christianity. At the head of the colleges he placed his most experienced disciples, such as Dyfrig, Illtud, and Cadog, who taught the tenets of the Gallican Church. Garmon united the character of Christian warrior with that of a Christian missionary. He encouraged the Britons to military exertions against the Picts and Scots, and even led them to a decisive

[1] Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.

victory over their enemies at a place still called Maes Garmon, in Flintshire. The Pelagian heresy, however, was not very speedily or easily eradicated. It continued to exist and to struggle against its adversaries long after the departure of Garmon. That a synod was held at Llanddewi Brevi is no longer a matter for conjecture. This locality was probably chosen on account of its central position, and it was the meeting-place of old Roman military roads, one from the north and two from the south. Hard by was the Roman fort of Llanio or Luentinum. This synod was held in the sixth century, and David of Mynyw or Menevia was the most prominent figure in it. David was nearly related to the chief rulers of the country, a great grandson of Cunedda, and this pre-eminence gave him a decided advantage over his opponents in the religious contest. In Demetia and Ceredigion the Goidelic language was still prevalent, and it is possible that the Pelagian heresy had found its strongest supporters among the Goidelic population. David had been brought up among them at Vetus Rubus or Hen Fynyw, and must have known Goidelic and Brythonic equally well.

The writings attributed to Gildas are the chief and well-nigh the only contemporary authority in Britain for the Anglo-Saxon invasion and settlement, in the fifth and sixth centuries. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, to know what Gildas does say exactly on these matters, because historians have too readily concluded that his words imply the practical extinction of the British race in the conquered territories, and that those who were fortunate to live through the rebellion of the Saxon mercenaries retired into Wales and the

Devonian peninsula, before the end of the sixth century. It is assumed that the natives of southern Britain, as well as the midlands, migrated in large numbers, all who were not massacred, towards modern Wales and Cornwall, thus becoming the ancestors of the Welsh people. For this large trek there is no historical evidence. The sorrows of Britain, according to Gildas, who was thoroughly Roman in sentiment, began with the decline of the Roman Empire. The "cursed" Maximus, a Spaniard by birth,[1] raised the standard of rebellion, declared himself an emperor, robbed Britain of her armed soldiery[2] and of her military supplies, crossed the seas, and fixed the throne of his "iniquitous empire" at Treves, until he lost his head at Aquileia. Then Britain became exposed to invasions by the Picts from the north, and the Scots from the north-east. Help was sought from Rome, and a legion was sent. The third appeal to Rome was made, according to him, at the time when Aetius was consul, in 446, but was of necessity fruitless. The empire was sinking, and the Britons were hard pressed by the barbarians of the north and north-west. A council was called to deliberate as to the best way to repel these savage incursions of the Picts and Scots. All the members of the assembly, along with the proud tyrant, were blinded. They resolved to admit into the island "those wild Saxons, of accursed name, hated by God and men, like wolves into the fold, in order to repel the northern nations."[3] "Then there breaks forth a brood of whelps from the lair of the savage lioness in three cyulae (keels)." "At the directions of the unlucky tyrant, they first fixed

[1] Zosimus, *Histor.*, lib. IV. [2] *De Excidio*, I., 30—32.
[3] *Ibid*, I., 55.

their dreadful talons in the eastern part of the island, as men intending to fight for the country, but more truly to assail it. To these the mother of the brood, finding that success had attended the first contingent, sends out also a large raft-full of accomplices and curs." The Britons, when left to themselves, were powerless to fight their own battles. They had grown accustomed, like the Romans, to mercenaries, and as was usual with mercenaries, the Saxons soon began to complain of their hardships. They averred that their monthly supplies were not copiously contributed to them. When they had gathered sufficient strength they broke out in rebellion, and ravaged whole districts. "The inhabitants, along with the bishops of the Church, both priests and people, while swords gleamed on every side, and flames crackled, were together mown down to the ground, and—sad sight!—there were seen in the midst of streets the bottom stones of towers with tall beam cast down, and of high walls, sacred altars, fragments of bodies covered with clots of red blood, in confusion, as in a kind of horrible winepress." Let us ask what happened to those who were fortunate to escape from this slaughter. We are informed that some of them were captured on the mountains and killed in heaps. Others yielded themselves to the enemy. Others repaired to parts beyond the sea, with strong lamentation. From this passage we may infer that the stream of emigration to Armorica or Brittany commenced about this time, and continued for another century and longer. Others, trusting their lives, always with apprehension of mind, to high hills, to dense forests, and rocks of the sea, remained in their native land. Such was the reduced state of the Britons when they

took up arms again under Ambrosius Aurelianus, and gained a great victory over the barbarians. After the success of Ambrosius we are told that "from that time, the citizens were sometimes victorious, sometimes the enemy." This continued up to the year of the siege of Badon Hill, "and of almost the last great slaughter inflicted upon the rascally crew." In the next passage Gildas records what he saw in his own day, about the middle of the sixth century, which was a period of peace and prosperity: "Not even at the present day are the cities of our country inhabited as formerly; deserted and dismantled, they lie neglected until now, because, although wars with foreigners have ceased, domestic wars continue." Such is the evidence of the supposed great trek. Bede quotes from Gildas, and in the twenty-second chapter of the first book acknowledges his indebtedness to him.

Gildas tells us that Britain had kings, but that they were tyrants. Who were these kings? Happily, we are left in no doubt about them. Obviously the writer is referring to that part of the island which was known to him, and which had remained essentially British and Christian. On account of the heathen settlers, there was probably but little inter-communication between east and west, but it would be a mistake to imagine that the conquest of the whole of south-eastern Britain had been finally accomplished when Gildas wrote. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle records the conquest of the Isle of Wight in 530, of a great battle with the Britons at Old Sarum in 552, at Banbury in 556, at Bedford in 571. It was not till the year 577 that the Britons of the west were really menaced, when the invaders took Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath, and again about 613,

when Ethelfrith led his army to Chester, and massacred the monks of Bangor Iscoed. Too much emphasis must not be laid on these invasions. We gather from a passage in *Brut y Saeson*, in the collection known as the *Book of Basingwerk*, that there was much fighting about 683. The passage literally translated runs thus: "Ivor and Ynyr came to the land with a large host, and that was in the year 683 after the birth of Christ, and against them came the Saxons, and fought with them fiercely, and in this fighting many were killed on both sides. In the end Ivor overcame them, and over-ran Kernyw (Cornwall) and Dyfnaint (Devon) and Summer Land (Somerset). Then the Saxons proceeded to collect men to attack Ivor, when "gwyrda" (= religious men) came and made peace between them. And then Ivor took Ethelburga as his wife, and caused to be built a friary for monks at Glastonbury at his own costs, under the authority of Aldelm, a holy monk of that house. And in the second year, after the coming of Ivor to this island, there was a terrible mortality in Ireland."[1] From Ethelwerd's chronicle we learn that about 755 Cynewulf frequently fought no slight battles against the Britons. He tried to expel from his territories a certain British chief, named Cyneard, and in some skirmish Cynewulf was slain by Cyneard, and then Cyneard perished through treachery. According to Asser's *Life of Alfred*, Burhed, king of the Mercians, in the year 853, prayed Ethelwulf, king of the West Saxons, to come to his aid in reducing the Midland Britons. But we find that the Britons in the time of Alfred had

[1] In the *Red Book of Hergest*, Ivor is said to be the son of Alan, king of Armorica, and that he exercised government over the Britons for forty-eight years.

joined the West Saxons in their struggle with the Danes and a British prince from modern Wales, Amarawd, son of Rhodri, paid a diplomatic visit to Alfred, and formed an alliance with him. It is highly probable that the British speech had, by this time, perished in most parts of modern England, except in Devon and Cornwall, the Severn valley, and certain districts in the north.

Of the kings of Britain in the sixth century, Gildas has nothing good to say. Constantine was the king of Damnonia, comprising modern Devon and Cornwall, and a large tract of disputed territory eastward. Aurelius Caninus' kingdom included the present counties of Somerset, Gloucester, Monmouth, Glamorgan, and a part of Carmarthen, with Caerleon probably as capital. Vortiporius or Voteporix, who is described as grey-headed, and approaching his end, was the tyrant of the Demetae or the western portions of modern Wales. He is described on his tombstone in Latin and Ogam as "Voteporix the Protector."[1] Cuneglas was the chieftain of middle Wales, and the boundaries of his kingdom extended far beyond Shrewsbury, and far above Chester. Maglocunus, better known as Maelgwn Gwynedd, was "the island dragon," and the prince of Venedotia or Gwynedd. This prince had as his teacher probably the celebrated Illtud,[2] and may have been a fellow pupil of Gildas. According to the *Annales Cambriæ*, he died of the yellow plague in 547. As he

[1] The tombstone was discovered in 1895 at Castell Dwyran in Pembrokeshire, and may be seen at the Museum of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society.

[2] "*Tum habueris praeceptorem paene totius Britanniæ magistrum elegantem*" (Cap. 35).

was alive when Gildas wrôte we conclude that the *De Excidio* must have been written before the plague. Gildas declaims in no measured tones against these princes, whom he denounces as "the mad five horses of the retinue of Pharaoh," and appeals to the holy prophets of the Bible to testify, as of old, against the stubborn and proud princes of that age. His quotations are usually from the old Latin text, made from the Septuagint in North Africa during the second century, and sometimes from the later versions of Jerome. The Vulgate was gradually becoming better known, due to the spread of monachism, and the close inter-communication of British Christians with their brethren in Armorica. All through Gildas speaks of the Church as already old and firmly established in the land. No complaint is uttered in respect of schism or heretical teaching. We find bishops, presbyters, and deacons in great numbers, and every bishop was a "successor of Peter." Every separate community, or a very small group of churches, had its own bishop. Many of the bishops and clergy are attacked unsparingly, but through all this invective we can see that the position of the Church and its Ministry in Britain was decidedly strong. The whole country was Christian at least in name, and yet we know that there were districts in the extreme west, probably unknown to Gildas, where a tincture of druidism and paganism still prevailed. These districts were evangelized by St. David and his band of workers. In Gildas' time a new type of monachism was springing up, and he did not approve of its stringent rules. Monks were seeking desert places in the wilderness or remote islands. He did not approve, apparently, of the strict rules of Menevia which banned

intoxicating liquors. He has something to say of those who "whilst they eat bread by measure, glory on that account beyond measure: whilst they use water, they drink at the same time of the cup of hatred. They give preference to fasting over love, to vigils over righteousness, to their own imagination over harmony; they prefer the cell to the church, severity to humility." Gildas, though by birth either a Goidel or Briton, was in sentiment a Roman. His continual lamentations and bitterness have robbed his work of much of its value as a history. His treatise, so far as we know, had no direct influence on the religious revival connected with the name of St. David.

The miracles and tales which have gathered around the memory of St. David only prove how high he stood in the opinion of his countrymen, long after he had departed this life. His father was Sant,[1] who is said to be a direct descendant of Cunedda Wledig. The earliest known ruler of the land now called Wales is Cunedda, whose name often occurs in ancient Welsh literature. Nennius refers to Mailcun, king of Gwenedota, as the great-great-grandson of Cunedda, who came from Manaw Guotodin, probably a district south of the Clyde. Mailcun or Maelgwn is mentioned by Gildas as a contemporary. According to the *Annales Cambriae*,[2] he died in 547. Cunedda is supposed to have been invited by the south Britons to come to their assistance in their struggle with the Goidelic population. It is interesting to notice that Nennius held the opinion that these early inhabitants came from Spain, and we are

[1] *Llyfr yr Ancr*, 106.

[2] The *Annales* in their present form belong to the tenth century. (Phillimore in *Cymmrodor*, XI., 144.)

told that the sons of Liethali obtained the country of the Demetae, and the province of Gwiher and Cetgweli (Gower and Kidwelly). Two miles from Kidwelly is a huge encampment, on a fertile plateau, in a commanding position, with a superb view of land and sea, and named Allt Cunedda from time immemorial. This place, we conjecture, formed the headquarters of Cunedda and his host while operating in the southern district. The Harleian *MS.*, which belongs to the tenth century, gives an interesting account of the sons of Cunedda. These were clearly rulers of districts in north-west Wales.[1] It would be absurd to regard Cunedda as a mythical personage,[2] and the tradition of St. David's descent from Cunedda rests on old authorities.

The first known allusion to David or Dewi Sant is found in an old treatise known as the *Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland*, drawn up in the early part of the eighth century. In the Life of St. Paul Aurelian, written in Brittany about 884, we are informed that David was a fellow disciple of Paul, Samson, and Gildas, under Illtud, and we are told that he was surnamed "Aquaticus." Asser in his *Life of Alfred*, which was written about 893, mentions the monastery and *parochia* of holy Degui or Dewi as a well-known institution, with its succession of bishops, of whom his kinsman Novis was one, who had been expelled by King Hemeid.[3] He also refers to Dewi as a saint, whose intercession could powerfully aid those who appealed to him. There is a poem to "Dewi" in the Book of Taliesin, but

[1] *History of Wales*, I., 117.—Dr. J. E. Lloyd.

[2] See *Gwaith Gwallter Mechain*, III., 316.

[3] This king would seem to be a Scandinavian leader. There was a large Scandinavian settlement in Pembrokeshire.

authorities are unable to agree as to the date of this composition. David is frequently mentioned in the *Lives of the Saints*, such as Illtud, Gildas, Cadog, Finnian, Aeddan, Teilo, and Padarn. He has been regarded as a mythical personage. The evidential value of these ancient *Lives* is considerable, but the evidence of his work in the Church in Wales is absolutely conclusive.[1] In addition to allusions in many ancient writings, Ricemarchus or Rhygyfarch, about the year 1090, undertook to write the life of St. David. This writer was the son of Bishop Sulien, dwelt at St. Davids, and definitely asserts that he was drawing from ancient written sources. What these ancient sources were it is impossible now to ascertain. Many literary treasures must have perished when St. Davids was burnt and pillaged by pirates in 645, in 810, in 906, in 999, when Bishop Morgeneu was murdered, and again in 1080, when Bishop Abraham was slain "by the Gentiles." Rhygyfarch declares that ancient written sources were found scattered in different parts of the country, and in the monastery itself, written according to the ancient style. About a hundred years later Giraldus Cambrensis wrote a life of the saint, which is largely a recension of the work of Rhygyfarch, with the addition of glosses and fabulous tales. Gwynvardd, a contemporary of Giraldus, wrote a poem called "Canu i Dewi."

There is abundant evidence that the Church in Western Britain displayed a remarkable activity in the sixth century, and this revival was due to the labours

[1] In this respect St. David has the advantage over the Venerable Bede, of whose existence the external evidence is of a shadowy character.

of the men who had adopted the rule of St. David. Many of them were monks in the strict sense, but evangelists would be a more comprehensive description of those who toiled on the hillsides and distant vales, planting churches and labouring among the people. The *Vitae* of the saints clearly prove that they moved among the people. Others, it is true, had laboured before St. David. The foremost among these pioneers was Illtud, a celebrated Armorican of British descent. His first *monasterium* appears to have been on Ynys Pyrr, by Tenby, on the southern coast of Pembrokeshire. The monastery was pillaged and destroyed by the Danish pirates, who changed the name of the island into Caldey, and all records of this ancient seminary have perished. Illtud's name is closely connected also with an institution at Llantwit Major, in Glamorgan. The school at Llantwit gained a wide renown, but it is a noteworthy fact that the scholars are called brethren or clergy, and never termed "monks." One of these scholars was Gildas, a Roman Briton from Arecluta in the far north, and who speaks of Latin as "*nostra lingua*." Samson, a native of Dyfed, was a contemporary of his. This pioneer of the faith emigrated to Brittany, where he became archbishop of Dol. A similar institution was founded by Dubricius or Dyfrig at Henllan-on-Wye, which was afterwards removed to Mochros. One of Dyfrig's clerks was Teilo. In the meantime, Bishop Paulinus had founded a famous school somewhere in Dyfed, to which Teilo gained admittance, and where he had David as a fellow pupil. Both of them became itinerant evangelists. David eventually settled at "Vallis Rosina" in Menevia, where he built a church and a monastery, but he is

never styled an abbot. He was the bishop, and towards the end of his life he was acknowledged as the chief of the bishops or archbishop. For some years Teilo was his co-worker, but there was work to be done farther afield, and Teilo proceeded to found a similar institution at Llandaff, and became its bishop. The school or college at Llandaff gradually eclipsed the older institution at Llantwit.

Another friend and contemporary of St. David was Padarn, "*Lampas in doctrina et opere effectus est per totam Britanniam.*"[1] He founded a monastic school at Llanbadarn, near Aberystwyth. Cadog established another school at Llancarvan, and sixteen churches are said to have been founded by him. From the *Life of Cadog*, and the writings attributed to Gildas, we learn that there was a rivalry or disagreement among the saints. Gildas and Cadog represented the old order, and David and Teilo the new and stricter discipline. An angel said to David, "Rise, call a synod," and David replied, "There is one named Cadog more worthy than myself, wiser in understanding, and more skilful in speech." The angel said, "He will in no way thwart thee, since he will straightway go abroad." The synod was called, and when Cadog heard of it upon his return "he was incensed with great anger against David for such an affront." According to Rhygyfarch, David abstained from animal flesh, and "rejecting wine and beer and everything that can intoxicate, led a blessed life in God, on bread and water only." This practice was condemned by Gildas.[2] At Menevia the brethren

[1] *Vita Paterni*, C.B.S., 190.

[2] *The Works of Gildas*, by Hugh Williams, II., 258 (Cymmrodorion Series).

abjured the use of oxen for ploughing, and placed the yoke on their own shoulders. They provided with their own labour the necessities of the community. They rejected the gifts of the unjust, and detested riches. They fed on bread and herbs seasoned with salt, and drank water. Gildas had no liking for such a mode of life. He speaks with contempt of those who "drank water with scorn of others." In spite of its strict discipline, Menevia became renowned far and wide, and monks and scholars from other institutions flocked thither. Gildas did not approve of these migrations. He writes with indignation, "How much more so we ought not to receive monks who come from holy abbots, who are in no way suspect, except that they possess cattle and vehicles—things that do less hurt to their owners than to those who drag ploughs and dig mattocks into the ground with presumption and arrogance."[1] Rhygyfarch says that St. David, "imitating the monks of Egypt, led a life similar to theirs." Christian monachism began in Egypt, and St. Anthony, born about 250, is the reputed founder. The movement was further developed by his disciples. From Egypt it spread westwards to Italy and Spain and Gaul, and from there to Britain. Pelagius and Patrick were monks of this early type. The Latin *monachi locus* became *mynachlog* in British, but the monastic community was usually known as *monastica classis*, and from *classis* is derived the old Welsh *clas*, which we still find in many place-names. The names of farms, it is conjectured, which at one time belonged to the *clas*, have still sur-

[1] *Ibid*, p. 262.

vived, as Tirglas, Cnwcglas, and Glasdir.[1] The more general name in early times for a religious house, which usually stood away from the monastery, was *llan*. St. David had many *llans*, over a wide area, which accepted his rule and authority. In process of time the *llan* came to mean not a monastic house, but simply a church. Towards understanding the organization of the Church in Wales in pre-Norman times a study of the *clas* is imperative.[2] In the *Leges Wallicae* of Hywel Dda we read, "Whosoever shall do wrong to a mother church, let him pay fourteen pounds, one half to the abbot, and the other half between the priest and the *clas*." The chief churches were under an abbot. Each of these abbots had a *clas* to rule, and each *clas* was provided with at least one priest. When the abbot died the *clas* men inherited his possessions. The word *eglwys*, which is usually derived from the Latin *ecclesia*, is connected with the *clas*. Bernard, the first Norman bishop of St. Davids, was not satisfied with the *clas* system, and converted the *clas* men into canons, thus upsetting a system which had worked tolerably well for five hundred years.

In St. David's time the language of the country people in the western districts must have been Goidelic or Irish. The Brythonic was the language of the princes and nobles. David must have known these languages equally well, and he saw clearly what his countrymen needed, with barbarous tribes beating at their doors, and the old empire in ruins. He aimed at giving them discipline, education, and ecclesiastical unity. He

[1] Glascwm, a parish in Radnorshire, means the vale belonging to the *clas* and not "green vale." The name is now written Glascombe.

[2] *Life of St. David* (1923), by Wade-Evans.

knew that political unity was unattainable, on account of the many rival chieftains, with claims and interests of their own. But in spite of jealousies and territorial divisions and aggressions, he succeeded in establishing a considerable amount of ecclesiastical unity. The Britons of the west, though divided into several principalities, began to regard themselves as the Cymric nation. The strongest Saxon kings, with all their resources, utterly failed to subdue their small territory. In the hour of danger the Church sent out her commands, and prince and peasant united against the common foe.

CHAPTER II.

The Early Welsh Church.

TOWARDS the end of the sixth century the Church in Wales began to assume the diocesan form it still retains. It had no quarrel with the Church of Rome, and the British Christians fully acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman See as understood by the early Christians. There was no anti-Roman prejudice. It is a serious mistake to imagine that the British Church,[1] when Augustine landed in Kent, had become isolated. Historians, following one another, have repeated this error in nearly every text book. There was constant intercourse between Wales and Ireland, and Cornwall and South Wales remained in close touch with the Gallican Church through Brittany. Augustine never accused the British bishops of being schismatics or improperly ordained. The only charge he brought against them is, if Bede's account is accepted, that they had neglected the evangelization of the heathen invaders. The relations between the Britons and the Angles at this period must have been exceedingly strained. The Britons cherished the memory of Roman rule, with its fine culture and noble buildings and cities. The massacres and pillages of the last 150 years had engendered in them a feeling of

[1] The term "Celtic Church," as too indefinite and unsatisfactory, is avoided in these pages.

intense hostility towards the savage people who had taken possession of their lands. Except in the north, where there was a large British element, it would seem that missionary efforts had been rendered impossible by the treachery of the invaders.[1] Bede, however, is biassed and guilty of an inexactitude when he wrote that the Britons "never preached the faith to the Saxons or English, who dwelt amongst them," because it was British missionaries who had first preached the faith in the district where Bede had spent the whole of his life. Stubbs tells the story clearly: "The Welsh Church represents the body to which the Celtic Christians of Cumbria and South Britain belonged, the Church which gave Patrick to Ireland, and a few generations later, drew Columba to Scotland, which gave mediately or immediately Chad and Aidan to help in the conversion of the conquerors."[2]

It is unfortunate that the account given by Bede is the only extant account we have of the two conferences which took place between Augustine and the British clergy. He wrote 130 years after the event, when the Easter controversy had become acute. The land, under the sway of the Britons, when Augustine came on his mission, consisted of three large contiguous districts—Cumbria, extending from the Dee to the Forth; Cambria, consisting of modern Wales with all the Severn counties; West Wales, that is the land of Gloucester, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. Pope Gregory had told Augustine, "I commend to your brotherly feeling all the bishops of Britain." A synod

[1] The bitter antagonism between Briton and Saxon was intense.

[2] *Visitation Charges*, p. 200.

was called and, according to Bede, seven bishops of the Britons attended, and "many most learned men" from the great monastery of Bangor on the Dee. Augustine was a Benedictine monk in Rome, and not yet in episcopal orders. He came to plead for the submission of the bishops of ancient sees to him, as the chosen bishop of the new see of Canterbury in the land of the heathen. The other points raised at that time were comparatively trivial. It may be assumed that "the most learned men" were well acquainted with the history of the Christian Church in Britain. They knew that Dwrgwern in Caint, the Durovernum of the Romans, and the Caint-wara-byrig of the Jutes, had never been an episcopal see. They did not object to the bishop of Rome, but by what right was Augustine claiming for his newly-founded see a supremacy over the whole of Britain? They had hitherto looked upon the alien invaders as pirates and intruders, destroyers of churches, and enemies of learning and civilization. Augustine demanded to be received as their archbishop. This was a question of the first magnitude, and apparently caused much surprise. Even Bede is unable quite to conceal in his narrative the arrogance and pride of Augustine. The conference failed, and an age of conflict followed. The Easter controversy became acute, and little by little the communities outside the borders of Cambria adopted the Roman Easter. First, the southern Irish yielded about 630: next, Northumbria yielded in 664. Iona still held out, but gave up the struggle in 718. About the beginning of the eighth century, the clergy of Devon and Cornwall accepted the Roman customs, and with them the supremacy of Canterbury. The bishops and clergy of Wales, not by

an united act, but gradually, in the eighth century,[1] accepted the Roman Easter and customs, but not the supremacy of Canterbury, and the struggle went on for another three hundred years, which will be considered in the next chapter.

During the three centuries which preceded the Norman Conquest, the Welsh Church had to fight for its existence. The Mercian kings beyond the Severn were always looking out for opportunities to extend their territories westwards. Offa made a great rampart from sea to sea between Britannia and Mercia.[2] The Scandinavian pirates were busy pillaging and ravaging the western coasts. But the *Liber Laudavensis* and the *Black Book of Carmarthen* bear witness that the old literary traditions had been maintained, and that many monastic institutions still flourished. Bardsey Island continued to be a resort of holy pilgrims. Bangor was the chief city of the princes of Gwynedd, and the seat of the bishop of the diocese. There was a collegiate church at Towyn in Merioneth, and at Abergele, Llandinam, and Llanbadarn Fawr. In South Wales there was quite a large number. Llancarfan and Llantwit Major continued to be seats of learning. Llandough, Caerwent, Moccas, Bishopston, and Dewchurch, with many others, had abbots. At the beginning of the tenth century, in the principality of Dyfed, there were seven important churches, known as "episcopal houses."[3] It seems certain that the monks in early times did not inhabit together a single dwelling, but

[1] *Brut y Tywysogion* and *Annales Cambriæ*.

[2] Asser's *Life of Alfred*.

[3] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (ed. Aneurin Owen); so *Welsh Medieval Law*, 263 (A. W. Wade-Evans).

lived in separate cells within the enclosure of the *llan*.[1] Within the *llan* were also the church, the abbot's house, the hospice, and the necessary outhouses. Historians have too readily assumed that none of these buildings were of stone. It is supposed that the walls were of mud and clay, supported by timber and wattle, and for that reason it is held that no vestige remains of the ancient churches. But it is impossible to imagine that the Britons of Wales had learnt nothing of stone building from their Roman rulers, who had stations in every locality. There are many ancient stone foundations, built over by Norman and Plantagenet, that cannot be traced to-day. At Kidwelly there was a monastic institution in the sixth century, which accepted the rule of St. David. The present Norman priory was built by Roger of Salisbury on the old foundations. That the Welsh had knowledge of art is abundantly proved by the many carved stone crosses and inscribed stones which have survived. There is evidence that learning did not die in the Welsh monasteries, and when Alfred the Great inquired for able and learned teachers, Asser of St. David's was invited to his court. Asser guided him in building two monasteries in Saxony. It was in the tenth century that the *Historia Brittonum*, attributed to Nennius, was written. Asser's *Life of Alfred* is another early work which has survived. How many ancient works and records have perished we cannot know. The hands of the destroyers were busy with burning and pillaging for three centuries.

In Bright's *Early English Church* occurs the sentence, "It was then (A.D. 755—777), and not till then, that

[1] Every *llan* was an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*.

the English Church, which had been founded and organized without the aid of the British, absorbed the latter into its own body." There is no evidence of this early absorption, but there is evidence of gradual fusion. The Cymric Church acknowledged the supremacy or precedence of the Pope,—a primacy of place and honour, so far as we know, from the beginning, but it refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the English Canterbury. There is no evidence that the Welsh bishops were consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury in pre-Norman times, except on rare occasions and in exceptional circumstances. Inter-communion, however, had been fully established between the English and Welsh Churches in the eighth century. The Welsh hated not the Church of the English, but the depredations of the English Mercians on their borders. A very close connection with Rome was established in the ninth century. We read of Hywel Dda's journey or journeys[1] to Rome, in order to get the Pope's sanction to his Code of Laws. Both Cyngen, king of Powys (A.D. 854), and Hywel, lord of Glamorgan (A.D. 894), journeyed to Rome, and died there.[2] About this time, on account of their common enemy the Danes, the Welsh and West-Saxon churchmen were becoming united. That a friendly feeling was strengthening can be gathered from the fact that King Alfred, in 884, selected Asser,[3] a St. Davids ecclesiastic, to be his

[1] *Gwentian Chronicle.*

[2] *Brut y Tywysogion* and *Annales Cambriæ.*

[3] Let England in her Alfred's high renown
Boast of a monarch worthy of her crown;
But let not Cambrian Science be forgot,
How Asser taught, how Alfred learning got.
Masters ingrate, how can you barbarous call
The men that taught the brightest of you all.
Evan Evans (*Ieuan Fardd*).

confidential adviser, who afterwards became bishop of Sherborne. This fact seems, at least, to point to a better understanding between the two nationalities, and to an increase of direct Welsh influence on the Church of south Britain. This friendly spirit continued to grow under Alfred's successors. In 915 a viking host sailed from Brittany,[1] and spread ruin over Gwent and the districts of the Severn estuary. They penetrated into Erging and Hereford, ravaging the country. While engaged in these invasions they succeeded in capturing Cyfeiliog, bishop of Llandaff, and led him a prisoner to their ships. Edward the Elder at once came to the relief of the unfortunate prelate, and paid the ransom.[2] Vigorous measures were also adopted for the expulsions of the Danish fleet, which had terrorized the south-wests coasts. Welsh princes often sat in the West-Saxon Witenagemots, and lived in terms of friendship with Wessex. When Athelstan, the venerable Saxon bishop of Hereford, lost his sight with advancing age, Trahaearn, bishop of St. Davids, did his work for him, and acted as his vicar for thirteen years (1043—1055).[3]

This pleasant interchange of friendship and good will was followed by a period of conflict and violence. The causes are somewhat obscure. All we know is that a struggle for the supremacy arose between the descendants of Hywel Dda and the princes of Gwynedd. Great events had taken place in the meantime in England.

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[1] Probably West Wales—Milford Haven and Swansea Bay. The name Wales had not then been adopted to denote the modern province.

[2] *A. S. Chronicle.*

[3] *Earlier History of the Church in Wales.*—W. J. Waterhouse, B.C.L.

The west Saxons had been defeated by the Danes, and the Danish King Cnut had become king of the English.

On his death in 1035, the struggle of the great earls began. It was during this period that Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, an intrepid warrior, succeeded in uniting the forces of Wales, making himself a powerful foe to the house of Godwine. His policy was friendship with the earl and people of Mercia, and not with Wessex, thus reversing the policy of the Welsh princes for two centuries. His friendship with Mercia was cemented by his marriage with Ealdgyth, granddaughter of Leofric, the Mercian earl. But the house of Leofric was expelled by Harold, son of Godwine, and this led to war with the Welsh prince. The town and minster of Hereford were burnt, and much damage was done before peace was restored. The reconciliation did not last long, for it is recorded in the *Brut* that Magnus, king of Germany, came to England and ravaged the dominions of the Saxons, and that the Welsh prince was his ally. The struggle went on intermittently for several years. Harold captured Rhuddlan, the stronghold of Gruffydd, in 1062, and, adopting the tactics of the Danes, sailed along the coasts, mercilessly burning and ravaging the country, while his brother Tostig operated on land with the same relentless cruelty.[1] There was an outcry against Gruffydd, as the man who had caused these troubles, and he was slain by his own men.

Harold's merciless ravages were long remembered, and caused a profound hatred of the English. The

[1] "And lastly Harold, who himself on foot, with an army of light-armed infantry, and conforming to the customary diet of the country, so bravely penetrated every part of Wales, that he scarcely left a man alive in it" (*Deccription of Wales*, Giraldus Cambrensis).

Welsh rejoiced when the Saxon king was vanquished and slain at Hastings,[1] and welcomed the Norman Conquest as a Divine interposition. They could not foresee that the Norman adventurers would hold them with a tighter grip than the Saxons had ever been able to do, by means of their castles and ecclesiastical polity.

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[1] *Red Book of Hergest.*

CHAPTER III.

National Awakening.

I.

THERE are two historical facts of great importance which are difficult to account for. These have perplexed historians. One is the Danish conquest of the great kingdom of Athelstan and Edgar. The other is the comparative ease with which the Norman Conquest was accomplished, and the suppression of the English language and customs. People of another language, aims, and traditions, dwelling in the small Duchy of Normandy, succeeded in subduing a great kingdom in a few years. When we turn to the history of Wales, we find that the Anglo-Saxons tried in vain for six hundred years to conquer this small portion of the island of Britain, and that the Norman and Plantagenet kings spent over two hundred years in overcoming the national resistance. Even then it was not broken, for there was a dangerous rising in the fifteenth century. The Welsh acquiesced only when Henry Tudor, a man of their own blood, ascended the throne as Henry VII.

The policy of the Normans in Wales was the same as in England. It meant complete subjugation. They soon got into touch with the Scandinavian element in the peninsula of Gower in Glamorgan, and with the larger colony in Pembrokeshire, through Hereford. Fitz Osbern received the earldom of Hereford, and

castles sprang up along the borders at Wigmore, Monmouth, and Chepstow. The line extended gradually westwards to Cardiff. The whole region of Gwent fell into the hands of the earl of Hereford. While the Welsh princes were busy trying to settle their disputes by fighting with one another, the Normans were pushing westwards from three centres, Hereford, Shrewsbury, and Chester. The most formidable, and the most enduring in its results, was the push from Hereford. In Gwynedd, Gruffydd ap Cynan offered a stubborn resistance to the earl of Chester. Powys was weak and divided, and became an easy prey to the earl of Shrewsbury. The southern districts were in a state of rebellion against the old princely house, but a great battle, fought at Mynydd Carn in Pembrokeshire in 1081, decided the question, and Rhys ap Tewdwr returned to his dominions. He strongly withstood the Norman earls, and died fighting in Breconshire.

Apart from building castles, which the Welsh destroyed, the Normans made no great headway during the reign of the Conqueror, except along the coasts of South Wales and in the region of Mold and Flint. An event of great importance occurred in 1081, when William the Conqueror paid a visit to Wales, ostensibly as a pilgrim to the shrine of St. David. The English account records the visit as an invasion: "The king led an army into Wales, and there he set free many hundred persons."[1] The monks of St. Davids looked upon it as the pilgrimage of a pious monarch.[2] It is unnecessary to doubt the accuracy of either account. William wanted to assist the alien population

[1] *A. S. Chronicle.* [2] *Annales Cambriæ.*

of Pembrokeshire, and relieve some small bands of Normans which were hard pressed. He also paid a visit to the shrine of the saint, and probably met on his way the chief ruler of the southern district. William died in 1087. Soon after his death the conquest of Brecknock was undertaken by Bernard Neufmarche. Rhys ap Tewdwr died fighting against the invaders, who were supported by some of the discontented Welsh of Glamorgan.

The struggle went on with undiminished vigour during the reign of William Rufus, but the Normans met with a doughty antagonist in Cadwgan of Powys. By 1096 the Welsh had combined everywhere in a determined effort to drive out the invaders: "They gathered themselves together, and made war upon the French in Wales, and they stormed many fortresses and castles.'[1] On two occasions, at least, William Rufus led expeditions to Wales in person. In 1095 he accomplished very little. Again in 1097 he marched into Wales[2] "with a large army, and his troops penetrated far into the country," but the expedition was barren of results. He "remained from Midsummer till near August, to his great loss of men and horses and many other things." But the building of castles proceeded with renewed activity on the marches, and the ravages of the earls went on unchecked.

When the reign of William Rufus closed in 1100 the Normans had obtained a firm footing in Glamorgan, parts of Dyfed, and Brecknock, but their power was seriously threatened in Ceredigion and Powys. During the reign of Henry I., the Norman power extended like

[1] *A. S. Chronicle.* [2] *Ibid.*

a tidal wave to every corner of South Wales. Resistance seemed useless against the astute king. "He was a good man, and great was the awe of him; no man durst ill treat another in his time."[1] The Normans and Welsh came to understand one another, and lived peacefully side by side. They intermarried, and racial differences were passing away. But when Henry died, "soon did the land fall into trouble, for every man greatly began to rob his neighbour as he might." Historians, relying on the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis and *Brut y Tywysogion*, have assumed that south Pembrokeshire was thoroughly colonized by Flemings during the reign of the first Henry. Flemings, it is true, were planted in the towns, traders and woollen manufacturers, but not in such a large number as to change the language and customs of villages, towns, and a large tract of agricultural country in a few years.[2] The Welsh language had apparently ceased to be spoken in Gower and in this part of Dyfed for at least two centuries before the Flemings came. The old Welsh names of towns and hamlets had been superseded by such foreign names as Milford, Haverford, Tenby, Caldey, Haroldston, Gumfreston, Hubberston, Ambleston, and many others. The Welsh language was unknown at Manorbier[3] when Giraldus Cambrensis as a child built churches on the sands. He informs us that during the Itinerary of 1188 he preached[4] at Haverford in Latin and French, and the people, although they did

[1] *A. S. Chronicle.*

[2] In the *History of Wales*, II., 424, J. E. Lloyd assumes that Flemings had settled in Pembrokeshire before the reign of Henry I.

[3] *Gerald the Welshman*, IV., Sir Henry Owen.

[4] *Ibid*, 67.

not understand a syllable, were moved to tears by his eloquence, and rushed in crowds to take the cross. It would have been interesting if he had told us what language the men of Haverford then used. He prided himself on his knowledge of Welsh, but it seems evident that it was of no use to him on this occasion, for the people apparently spoke a Flemish or Scandinavian dialect.

During a century of plunder and rapine, when churches were burnt and destroyed, the religious life of the country must have been at a low ebb, and yet the old chroniclers tell us of some very good men who lived in this age of gloom. Sulien of St. Davids,[1] who died about 1080, in the eightieth year of his age, is said to be the wisest of the Britons; an eminent teacher and pastor, and distinguished for his piety. The account given of him, though scanty, points to the conclusion that he was the Anselm of the Welsh Church. Rhygyfarch "the wise," son of Sulien, is highly praised by the old chronicler as the most eminent scholar and teacher of his age. Ieuan, the "arch-priest" of Llanbadarn, who died in 1136, was a man of exemplary piety and wisdom. Bernard, though thrust upon the see of St. Davids by Henry I., endeared himself to the people by his deep devotion as well as by his journeys on land and sea to fight for the rights of his ancient Church. A Sulien Richmarch, who died in 1145, is described as a famous teacher, peacemaker, advocate, and the glory of his race. Uchtrud, bishop of Llandaff, was evidently an outstanding figure in his time. After

[1] *Brut y Tywysogion*, compiled probably at Strata Florida Abbey.

defending the rights of his Church for many years with energy and success, he died in 1147.

It was a century of immense changes, ecclesiastical and political. The Normans brought in their train the culture and literature of western Europe into the most distant corners of Wales. They introduced a new style of architecture, and the noble towers of abbeys and churches began to rise all over the land. With these came more stringent obligations and discipline, and the celibacy of the clergy was insisted upon and duly enforced. The system which had been in vogue for centuries had grown old and corrupt, and it was replaced by the new discipline. The old religious foundations were transformed in accordance with the continental model into abbeys and priories. Then a wailing cry for help was heard from the suffering Christians of the Holy Land, the heart of Christendom throbbed, and common sympathy helped to unite Welsh and Norman in support of a great crusade. Baldwin of Canterbury visited the Welsh dioceses, and celebrated Mass in the four cathedral churches. Henceforward the supremacy of Canterbury was vigorously asserted and pressed. Giraldus resisted in vain. His repeated elections proved futile, for they were never allowed to be followed by consecration.

II.

Unlike the Anglo Saxons, the Normans had a deep respect for shrines and churches, but they had no respect for local saints and traditions. They never hesitated about appropriating the revenues of old monastic houses in support of newer houses, built under the shadow of the great castles. Monasteries of this new

type sprang up at Cardiff, Kidwelly, Carmarthen, Pembroke, Haverfordwest, St. Dogmael's, in South Wales. Norman rule, during the reign of Henry I., was quietly accepted in these localities as inevitable. And it was a beneficent rule. It fostered civilization, religion, literature, and art. The French language became popular. The Norman soldiers hummed the love songs of the troubadours of France in the streets of towns and along country lanes. These *chansons* suited the Welsh temperament, and the bards began to emulate the love songs of France. That the Welsh territorial princes would have gained a large following is very doubtful if the Normans had refrained from seeking to reduce the Welsh Church to abject subjection to Canterbury. They treated the old *clas* system with contempt; they re-dedicated ancient churches; they appropriated ancient endowments in the most high-handed manner, granting them to foreign institutions; they assumed an air of ecclesiastical superiority which roused the ire of the Welsh clergy; they trampled upon ancient laws and customs, and the gates of their dungeons closed upon those who ventured to raise their voice in protest; they had even the audacity to re-dedicate to St. Andrew the holy shrine of St. David.[1]

The first attempt to thrust a foreigner into a Welsh see was made in 1092, when the earl of Chester succeeded in getting a Breton, named Hervé, consecrated bishop of Bangor by the archbishop of York. Hervé led a precarious existence in his diocese, surrounded by armed bands. He was eventually forced to leave, and his case occupied the attention of king, pope, and

[1] Cf. *Itinerary*, II., 1.—Gir. Camb.

primate, until his translation to Ely in 1109.[1] The second attempt was at Llandaff, and this proved more successful. Urban was consecrated at Canterbury in 1107, and he promised canonical obedience to Anselm. The case of Bernard, a chaplain to Queen Matilda, is exceptional. He was elected to St. Davids in 1115, and he was consecrated at Westminster, promising canonical obedience to Canterbury. Twenty years later, Bernard strenuously put forward the claim of St. Davids, to be the metropolitan see of Wales. He began to move during the pontificate of Innocent II.,[2] and carried on the contest to the year of his death in 1148. In his case we have an instance of a Norman who became, in some respects, more Welsh than the Welsh themselves.

His successor was David Fitz Gerald, son of the castellan of Pembroke, who calmly allowed things to slide, and left it to his nephew, Giraldus Cambrensis, to renew the struggle for St. Davids in 1176, and again in 1198. In the meantime, a great revolution in Welsh affairs had taken place. Gruffydd ap Cynan and his son Owain had consolidated their power in Gwynedd. Gruffydd ap Rhys, and after him his son, the Lord Rhys, became all powerful in South Wales. The whole people rose against the Norman usurpers, and castle after castle fell into the hands of the Welsh princes. The outburst occurred after the accession of Stephen, when the king and his barons were embroiled in an internecine struggle. Confusion and disorder reigned supreme in the marches. The great lords did just what they pleased. They greatly oppressed the wretched

[1] Lloyd's *History of Wales*, II., 448.
[2] *Invect.*, II., 7.—Giraldus Cambrensis.

people by making them work at their castles, "and when the castles were finished they filled them with devils and evil men."[1]

But the Welsh found it easier to shake off the yoke of the Norman barons than to escape from the domination of the archbishop of Canterbury, who was throughout supported by the popes. When Meurig, bishop of Bangor, died about 1161, Owain, the prince of Gwynedd, insisted on the election of a Welshman named Arthur to the vacant see, and disregarded the protests of king and archbishop. Arthur was sent to Ireland for consecration. The pope sided with the king and archbishop, and the bishop of Bangor remained unrecognized by them. The prince was excommunicated by the archbishop, but he refused to yield, and when he died in 1170 the clergy of Bangor gave him burial in their cathedral. Henry II. found that it suited his interests to come into terms with Rhys ap Gruffydd, who was termed by poet and chronicler the Lord Rhys, and made him justiciar of South Wales.

While keeping under control the rebellious Norman adventurers, Rhys adopted an enlightened policy. He declined to obstruct Archbishop Baldwin's passage when preaching a crusade in Wales in 1188, though urged by the canons of St. Davids to take that action, and he lavishly entertained him and his retinue at his royal castle of Cardigan. In his time, Welsh literature received a powerful encouragement, and a strong national awakening made itself manifest.[2] He was a liberal benefactor to churches and monasteries, but at

[1] *A. S. Chronicle.*

[2] "The nation has in our times unusually increased in population and strength." (*Description of Wales.*—Giraldus.)

the time of his death, in 1197, he was under excommunication. The Norman bishop, however, had to yield, and Rhys was buried in St. Davids Cathedral. After his death the leadership passed to Gwynedd.

Llywelyn ap Iorwerth was a truly enlightened ruler, and took a prominent part on the side of the barons in their struggle with King John. Practically the whole of Wales acknowledged his authority. He was the founder and benefactor of abbeys and churches. He defended the rights of the national Church valiantly on several occasions, and for his pains he was excommunicated, with twelve of his allies, by an assembly of the bishops of the province of Canterbury, and the sentence was promulgated throughout England. The Welsh bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph were not summoned to this council, and Archbishop Langton was away in Italy. His excommunication appears to have been removed sometime before his death in 1240,[1] for he passed the end of his life in the abbey of Aberconway having assumed the monastic habit.

In the twelfth century there were three distinguished ecclesiastics connected by birth or associations with Wales, who have won a permanent position in literature. Their contemporaries, bards and chroniclers, men of accomplishments, who wrote in their native language, are unknown except to a few scholars. Geoffrey of Monmouth, Walter Map, and Giraldus Cambrensis wrote in Latin. They gained an European reputation even in their own time, and their remarkable writings are still well known. Geoffrey was the earliest of the triumvirate. Born about 1100, he was brought up by

[1] *Brut y Tywysogion* and *Annales Cambriæ*.

his uncle, who later became bishop of Llandaff,[1] and received his education at Oxford. His fame rests on his *Historia Regum Britanniae.* He says that he drew his material from " a very ancient British book," which had been brought over from Brittany. The *Historia* purports to be an account of the British nation from the fall of Troy onward to the death of Cadwaladr in 689. Whether he invented, translated, or collected his stories, literature owes him a debt of gratitude.

Walter Map, the second of the three worthies, was born about 1140, somewhere in the Welsh marches, and called himself a Welshman. After receiving his education in Paris, he returned to England in 1162, and rose high in favour with Henry II. Like the wits of his time he hated Jews and Cistercian monks. He never got a bishopric, but he obtained considerable preferment in his time, holding the offices of precentor of Lincoln, canon of St. Paul's, and archdeacon of Oxford. He died in the reign of John. In his *De Nugis* he devotes many pages to his account of Welsh characteristics. It is not known what share he had in the production of a work called *Golias.* Some of the romantic tales called *Mabinogion* belong to a period earlier probably than the twelfth century, and deal with persons and events of very remote antiquity, but there are no references to Arthur and his knights in these earlier tales. The later stories were written after Geoffrey and Walter Map had popularised the Arthur legend, and it was then that the real or fictitious Arthur became the

[1] According to the Gwentian *Brut,* not a very trustworthy authority. Lloyd's conjecture is that he was the son of one of the Bretons who had settled at Monmouth. (*History of Wales,* II., 524.)

national hero. Without these tales, not only Welsh literature but English and European literature would be decidedly the poorer.

The third was Giraldus Cambrensis or Gerald de Barri, who was born in 1147 at Manorbier Castle in Pembrokeshire. He was the youngest son of William de Barri, a prominent Norman noble, and on his mother's side a great grandson of Rhys ap Tewdwr, the king of South Wales. Even in his time the language of the inhabitants of that part of Pembrokeshire was not Welsh, but a mixture of Scandinavian and Flemish. He never acquired a proficient knowledge of Welsh. Though proud of his Welsh descent he never mentions the names of any Welshmen of note. Meilyr, Gwalchmai, Cynddelw, Owain Cyfeiliog, Dafydd Benvras, Howel ap Owain, and Elidir Sais, were contemporaries of his. Owain Cyfeiliog was the prince of Powys, and a poet of no mean order. Howel ap Owain was a son of the prince of Gwynedd, and his poems are remarkably bright and melodious. Cynddelw was in touch with most of the leading men of the day, and was well known in the castles of Rhys ap Gruffydd and Llywelyn ap Iorwerth. It was about this time that the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, the *Book of Llandav*, the *Bruts*, and the *Red Book of Hergest* were compiled. Caradoc of Llancarfan was a contemporary of Giraldus. The work attributed to him called *The Historie of Cambria*, was translated into English by Humfrey Llwyd (1527—1568), and afterwards corrected and augmented by David Powel, vicar of Ruabon, and one of the collaborators of Bishop Morgan in bringing out a Welsh translation of the Bible in 1588.

Giraldus Cambrensis was a Norman in sympathies and

outlook, but he never forgot his royal Welsh descent. His allusions to his descent made him many powerful enemies. His greatest enemy was Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, and in his *Liber Invectionum* he bitterly attacks the archbishop, and ridicules his latinity. At times he imagines that the opposition to him arose solely from the fact of his being a Welshman, and he wrote: "Because I am a Welshman am I to be debarred from all preferment in Wales? I am sprung from the princes of Wales, and from the barons of the marches, and when I see injustice in either race I hate it. And what can be more unjust than that this ancient people of ancient faith, because they answer force by force in defence of their lives, their lands, and their liberties, should be forthwith separated from the body of corporate Christendom, and delivered over to Satan?" He could not hope for confirmation of his election to the see of St. Davids from Canterbury, and he set out for Rome to seek it from the pope. The objection to his election is clearly set forth in Hubert Walter's letter to the pope: "If this man can obtain consecration from your Holiness he will at once claim exemption from the see of Canterbury, and will hereafter sow the seeds of dissension between the English and the Welsh. For the Welsh trace their descent in unbroken line to the ancient Britons, and claim that the whole land of Britain is theirs by right. Unless, therefore, this lawless people can be kept in order by the censures of the Church through the see of Canterbury, they will be for ever rising in arms against the king, to the disquiet of the whole realm of England."[1]

[1] *Gerald the Welshman*, 104.—Sir Henry Owen.

These words were written when a great part of Wales was ruled by native princes, according to the ancient laws, and a hundred years before the Edwardian Conquest.

The *Speculum Ecclesiae* by Giraldus is a mirror in which the monks could see their portraits depicted by an enemy. He belonged to the secular clergy, and hated the Cistercian monks. God sent the abbeys, but the devil sent the kitchens and cellars, is his conclusion. He deplores the fact that a practice had grown up of exempting the monasteries from episcopal control. The Cistercian abbot of Whitland had poisoned the minds of the chapter of St. Davids against Giraldus, even after his election to the bishopric, and he charges the Cistercians, with good reason, with usurping the rights and emoluments of the parish priests. The monks of Strata Florida had swindled him out of his books, which he had given in pledge to them before a journey to Rome. He had a better opinion of the Carthusians and Augustinians, but these had made no headway in Wales.

Another picture of the times is given in *Gemma Ecclesiae.* A chapter is devote to the remarks of his friend the archdeacon of Oxford—"*nomine Walferus et Cognomine Mapus.*" The two archdeacons were close friends through life. Map, like Giraldus, held a number of benefices, but he could never forgive the Cistercians for pillaging his living of Westbury. A considerable portion of this work is devoted to a description of the churches of Rome, the functions of the various officers, from the Pope himself down to the parish priests. In estimating the historical value of his writings, we must remember the character of the man, and the object he

had in view. He was vain of his learning and proud of his descent, and he lived in a credulous and uncritical age. During the Welsh itinerary of 1188 he accompanied Archbishop Baldwin, and made urgent appeals to Welshmen to take the cross. He took the vow among the first, but he never went to the Crusades. The brave archbishop went, and died in the Holy Land, broken-hearted at the spectacle of the profane wickedness of the soldiers of the Cross.

It is a significant fact that nearly all the Cistercian houses were founded or endowed by Welsh princes, and these abbeys were decidedly Welsh at this time. The monks distrusted Giraldus, and ridiculed his claim to be the champion of the Welsh Church. They looked upon him as an ambitious Norman ecclesiastic, well known in the court of Henry II., a friend of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the companion of Prince John when he visited Ireland in 1185. They suspected a man who was so closely related to the Norman usurpers of South Wales. Most of the great abbeys of Wales were founded during his lifetime. Abbey Cwmhir in Radnorshire was founded in 1143 by Maredudd ap Maelgwn. It was a Cistercian house, and charters were granted by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth in 1209, and by Henry III. in 1232. Margam was a very ancient British foundation.[1] It was enlarged and re-modelled by Robert, earl of Gloucester, in 1147. This Cistercian abbey was richly endowed by Caradoc ap Iestyn and his brothers. Neath Abbey appears to have been a grey friars house at first, and Cistercian later. Richard de Grainville, a Norman knight, gave a large piece of land which he had usurped to the abbot and monks of Savigny, for the site of an

[1] Birch's *History of Margam Abbey.*

abbey at Neath.[1] Though alien in origin, this abbey became the centre of considerable Welsh literary activity. It is probable that some of the ancient books relating to Wales were written or transcribed here. St. Dogmael's, near Cardigan, accepted the order of Tiron, and was founded about 1115. This abbey became the centre of the religious life of an intensely Welsh district. There are frequent references to it in the works of the Welsh bards. The Cistercian abbey of Strata Florida in Cardiganshire was built and endowed by Rhys ap Gruffydd, prince of South Wales, in 1164, on the site of an older church.[2] The abbots must have been Welsh from the beginning. This abbey may be regarded as the Westminster of Wales, truly national in character, and the home of princes, bards, and chroniclers. Here the records were kept, and it was here the great Llywelyn received the homage of the lords of Wales for his son, David, in 1237. It was burnt down in 1294, during the wars of Edward I. It was rebuilt later on a smaller scale, and flourished till the Dissolution. Talley[3] in Carmarthenshire was of the Premonstratensian order. It received munificent benefactions from Rhys ap Gruffydd and other Welsh princes. This was a distinctly Welsh abbey throughout its history, and the abbot was a strong supporter of Henry Tudor in the struggle which ended at Bosworth in 1485. Whitland Abbey in Carmarthenshire was an old foundation. Here Hywel Dda, the Welsh prince and legislator, resided in the tenth century. It was rebuilt and re-founded by Bernard, bishop of St. Davids, about 1143, as a

[1] *English Historical Review*, III., 669

[2] Williams' *History of Strata Florida*, 19–23.

[3] *Archælogia Cambrensis*, V., x and xi (1893).

Cistercian abbey. The abbot, it appears, was an active opponent of Giraldus Cambrensis. It will be seen that nearly all these abbeys were Welsh in origin, and of the Cistercian order. There were, of course, numerous priories and friaries besides, and one convent at Llanllyr in Cardiganshire.

The same is true of North Wales. Strata Marcella, in Montgomeryshire, was a Cistercian abbey, founded by Owen Cyfeiliog, poet and prince of Powys, in 1170. Weary of the burdens of government the founder retired into the monastery in 1197, to be succeeded by the more active and war-like Gwenwynwyn. At the beginning of the reign of Edward III. the Welsh monks were removed to English abbeys, and English monks were imported and made subject to Buildewas in Shropshire. Aberconway, in Carnarvonshire, was founded in 1186, order not stated, by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, the prince of Gwynedd. This abbey was one of the depositories of the princes. Edward I., in 1283, while confirming their possessions, removed the monks to Maenan in Denbighshire. The founder was buried in the abbey in 1140, but his remains were conveyed after the Dissolution to Llanrwst. The information with regard to Maes Glâs or Basingwerk in Flintshire is scanty, and even the founder's name is uncertain. It seems probable that it was founded by Ranulf, earl of Chester, about 1131. It was made a Cistercian house in the reign of Henry II. Llywelyn, and David his son, gave a charter of confirmation. At Clynnog, in Carnarvonshire, there was an old monastery of St. Beuno, founded in the sixth or seventh century. The monastery was afterwards tenanted by white monks. Later, it was suppressed, and converted into a collegiate

Church. The small abbey of Denbigh was of the Benedictine order, and was founded by John Salisbury of Lleweni, who died in 1289. The great Cistercian abbey of Cymmer in Merionethshire was founded by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth. All the out-offices were burnt in 1231 by the English, but the abbot saved the main building by profound submission and a heavy fine. Llanllugan in Powys was originally tenanted by Cistercian monks. The name of the founder is not known. By 1239, it had become a nunnery. Valle Crucis, in Denbighshire, was a Cistercian abbey, founded about 1201 by Madog ap Gruffydd,[1] of Dinas Brân, a prince of Powys. At the Dissolution its revenues were large, and the ruins are the most impressive in Wales. A great religious movement with its innumerable blessings became a source of danger. The emoluments of most of the parishes were uncertain and precarious. It was difficult for the parish priest to collect the tithe, while lands and possessions were continually changing hands and masters, in those times of unbridled violence. The parishes, in many cases, of their own accord, put themselves under the protection of the powerful monastery. In other cases the abbeys took possession of the rectorial tithe in a high-handed manner. At the Dissolution, all the best livings in Wales had passed into their hands, and for that reason the Church in Wales was impoverished at the Dissolution far more than in England.

The Liturgy of the British Church was in Latin, but there are traces of some Welsh forms of service to be found in the early compositions of the bards. The only

[1] *Brut y Tywysogion* and Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

diocese which is credited with having an early use of its own is Bangor. In post-Norman times the use in St. Davids and Llandaff was the *Ordinal Ecclesiae Sarum*, and apparently it continued to be the use until the Reformation. There was a very ancient book of the gospels at St. Asaph. It was ancient even in 1277. From a circular letter of Archbishop Peckham in 1284 we find that the St. Asaph clergy were itinerating with it for alms to rebuild the cathedral. It has long since disappeared, and it is impossible to know whether it was in Welsh or in Latin. Its title was in Welsh. The *Book of St. Chad*, now preserved in Lichfield Cathedral library, belonged formerly to Llandaff. It is a *MS.* of the Old Latin Text of the Gospels, and belongs to the eighth century. It is the oldest *MS.*, now extant, of any part of the Holy Scriptures that the Welsh Church possessed. The Welsh entries were probably written at Llandaff. The "little Primer" or the "Hours of the Blessed Virgin," called *Llyfr Plygain*, was in Welsh, and became very popular with the laity. It metrical renderings in Welsh of some of the Latin contained hymns. There are specimens of what may be regarded as Welsh carols or hymns in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, written in the twelfth century, but there is no evidence that Welsh hymn-singing had become prevalent in pre-Reformation times.

CHAPTER IV.

The Edwardian Conquest and the Pre-Reformation Church.

I.

THREE years before his death the great Llywelyn summoned the lords of Wales to Strata Florida to swear fidelity to his son David by Joan, daughter of King John, as his successor, but he had an elder son, named Gruffydd. When the firm hand was removed, Gruffydd immediately challenged the title of his brother, and he was supported by the bishop of Bangor, who put himself under the protection of the English king. After a short imprisonment, Gruffydd was surrendered by David to the English Court. As his release would only mean more trouble in the west he was detained in the Tower as an honourable prisoner. In 1244, despairing of redress, he made an attempt to escape by means of a rope. The rope broke, and he lost his life in the attempt.[1] David was fortunate in securing the pope's aid against his powerful foes, and he maintained a semblance of independance until his death in 1246, leaving no heir. The next few years saw a struggle between two rival claimants to the principality of Gwynedd and the overlordship of Wales. Owain and Llywelyn, sons of the unfortunate Gruffydd, in which Llywelyn gained the upper hand. His policy

[1] *Brut y Tywysogion.*

was not unlike that of his grandfather, and he formed a protective alliance with the Scots and with Simon de Montfort and the English barons, but during the last ten years of his life he found himself in conflict with perhaps the greatest of the kings of England. Summoned to do homage at the coronation of Edward I., he declined to respond. Apparently he had not forgotten the mournful fate of his father, Gruffydd, but his position soon became exceedingly insecure.

The last Llywelyn was not the far-seeing statesman his grandfather was, and by some act or another he had alienated some of the bishops and clergy.[1] Times also had changed. The parochial and monastic clergy had no desire to see a renewal of the struggles of the past, in which they lost so much and gained nothing. Norman and Welsh lived peacefully side by side in South Wales and in the marches, and the prince of Powys sided with the marches against Llywelyn. The whole district of Brecon and Carmarthen passed over to the king's side, and Cardiganshire was not favourable to the northern prince. But the persistent introduction of Norman-English law, and the suppression of the old laws and customs led to a formidable rising of the landed gentry and peasants in 1282. It began in the south, with an attack on the castles of Llandovery and Aberystwyth, and spread rapidly. It was then that Archbishop Peckham paid his first visit to North Wales, and having addressed a letter to Llywelyn, met and conferred with him and his council. Llywelyn laid before him a written answer on behalf of himself and his people, adding particulars of grievances, but Edward

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, I., 502–5; also *History of the Welsh Church*, 321–327.—E. J. Newell.

would hear of nothing but unconditional submission. The Welsh prince was offered an English estate in exchange for his claims to Welsh soil, and he refused to consider the offer. Finding that his overtures had failed, the archbishop excommunicated Llywelyn. The end came when the Welsh prince was killed near Builth in December, 1282. His brother David held out a little longer, but he also fell into Edward's hands, and the unfortunate prince was hanged, drawn, and quartered. Edward's brutal treatment of the remains of his foes caused a profound revulsion of feeling. By bards and priests alike he was denounced as a savage barbarian. Even as late as the thirteenth century the Welsh regarded themselves as superior in civilization to the English. In literature they were unquestionably superior. The old culture inherited from Roman times had not quite disappeared, and the old traditions were kept alive by the bards, and revived from age to age.

The poetical effusions of the bards of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries indicate considerable culture and knowledge of the poetical art. Their compositions are immeasurably superior in point of literary merit to the early English attempts of Gower and even Chaucer. Most of the bards belonged to good families, and many of them were learned men, whose writings are still read and admired, but they lived in an age of strife and confusion. There was no rest, no peace, no justice. By the Norman-English lords, many of whom were practically illiterate, they were treated as barbarians and criminals. The chief bards[1] of the struggle of the last Llywelyn were Howel Voel, Bleddyn, and Gruffydd

[1] *Literature of the Kymry*, 33.—Thomas Stephens.

ab yr Ynad Coch. The last mentioned was by far the ablest of them, and his elegy to Llywelyn is a very skilful composition, full of poignant grief. The death of the last of the princes was followed by a period of sullen submission to English rule, and no Welshman of any note appears on the scene for a considerable number of years. In order to conciliate the Welsh, the English king conferred the principality upon his son Edward, who was born in Carnarvon castle. The *Statuta Wallie* did not apply to the marches, and private wars between the lord marchers continued to be frequent. Their castles had become the haunts of disreputable characters and needy adventurers. In the Principality itself, on the other hand, trade and commerce greatly improved, boroughs were becoming common, and the whole country was settling down. Edward II. was partial to the Welsh, and his memory was cherished by them long after his unhappy death.

Edward III. extended to Wales certain trade privileges, and in 1353, Carmarthen, Carnarvon, and Ruddlan were important staple towns. The Welsh and English fought side by side at Crecy and Poictiers, and national antipathies were passing away. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Welshmen were in large numbers at the universities, particularly at Oxford, where they figured prominently in more than one riot.[1] They appear to have clung together, and lodged at Stoke Hall, Trill-mill Hall, and Gloucester Hall.

During the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. no risings occurred in Wales. It was an age of educational progress, of mirth and laughter, and when a great bard appeared, after a long silence, he sang a new song.

[1] Maxwell Lyte's *History of the University of Oxford*, 367.

Dafydd ap Gwilym, a man of gentle birth and excellent education, did not sing of war and warriors, but of nature and love and fair maidens. His attitude towards monasticism is a peculiar feature of his poetry. It is also the attitude of his imitators. He enjoyed chaffing the monks and priests, and yet it is almost certain that he was buried at the great abbey of Strata Florida. His was a joyous and mirthful age, but the next generation saw a violent insurrection under Owain Glyndwr which was followed by a period of agonizing gloom.

Changes in land tenure, unfair administration of justice, encroachments by the lords marchers, and legal disabilities of Welshmen, were the main causes of the rising. The demand for ecclesiastical freedom was an after-thought. In pre-Norman times the Welsh acknowledged the ownership of the family or tribe rather than the individual. The peasants had held their lands for centuries of the Welsh lords or monastic houses, paying them certain dues or rendering certain services. The Statute of Wales did not exclude this system, but since it did not apply to a large portion of Wales, known as marcher lands, there was much friction, confusion, and disorder. With so many castles, so many jurisdictions, so many masters, it is not to be wondered at that the Welsh were discontented. Another indirect cause was the Black Death of 1349, which greatly affected Wales no less than England. There were fewer labourers, and wages went up enormously. It was useless to look for redress to the monasteries, the chief landowners in many localities, which had suffered very serious losses from the plague. Another cause which contributed largely to disaffection was social inequality. Education in medieval times was

under the control of ecclesiastical authorities, and these authorities were becoming more and more anti-national.

In addition to the parochial schools, there were many grammar schools attached to the cathedrals and collegiate churches. Many of these schools were of quite an early date, and had existed long before the Norman invasion, at St. Davids, Llanbadarn, Llantwit, Bardsey, Bangor, Llanddewi Brevi, and other places. Bledri was bishop of Llandaff in 983, and an ardent educationist. He ordered every parish priest within his diocese to maintain a school. Two centuries later, the Lateran Council, in 1215, made it incumbent upon every church of sufficient means to elect a master to give a free instruction to the clerks of the church in grammar. Archbishop Peckham, acting upon instructions from Edward I., paid a visit to Wales in 1284. He had no complaints to make about the schools of South Wales, but with regard to Gwynedd he had much to say.[1] Peckham's recommendation was that Welsh youths should be educated in England. He did not suggest that the schools were inferior, but he made his recommendation in order that the Norman-French language might be cultivated, and the conquest more speedily brought about. The result of his policy was an influx of Welshmen to Oxford. Sometimes a priest would obtain from his bishop leave of absence for a year or two to pursue his studies at one of the universities. Such a leave was given by Guy de Mona, bishop of St. Davids, to a priest named John Traharn in 1398.[2] During his episcopate these dispensations were frequently given.

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, I., 571.

[2] *Episcopal Registers of St. Davids*, I., 91.

The end of the thirteenth century saw the rise of the Collegiate Church. There were so many abbeys, priories, and friaries, that the parochial clergy and laity saw that their power was threatened, and organized themselves into corporations to receive endowments. But the Knights Hospitallers were independent of kings, bishops, and clergy, in virtue of the authority of the Holy See. Their possessions in Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Gower, were enormous. They had a large commandery at Slebech[1] in Pembrokeshire, and another at Kidwelly. About 1145 they owned "all the arable land of Kidwelly, with the forests, plains, etc."[2] A century later, in a bull issued in 1259, Pope Alexander IV. addressed the Hospitallers as "the elect people of God, a princely race, an earnest body of righteous men." The knights were exempted from ordinary ecclesiastical supervision, and not only were they secured against excommunication themselves but they were able to throw a protecting cloak over others actually under the ban. If they passed through an interdicted district, or in their journeyings came to a city, or village, or castle lying under the terrible ban, they could cause the churches to be thrown open, at least once a in year, in order that Mass might be said. To the excommunicated the Hospitallers could give the forbidden word of comfort, the "God speed," as they passed along the road. Any denounced persons might find refuge in the houses and churches of the order, and the brothers were enabled to visit, and even to administer the sacrament to the sick who had been

[1] *Slebech Commandery and the Knights of St. John.*—J. Rogers Rees.

[2] *Middle Hill MSS.*

thrust by interdict outside the pale of religion. During the period extending from 1140 to 1260 their possessions grew enormously, but towards the beginning of the thirteenth century men were getting tired of the Crusades and of the interminable wars in the east. The conquest of the island of Rhodes by the knights in 1310 was but a prelude to days of darkness and doubt. Strife sprang up in their own ranks, and financial difficulties began to assume a serious aspect. They had no personal ties, and no national ties. They had all along stood apart from all other men, loved by few and feared by all. In the fourteenth century their power was on the wane. They were hated by the regular clergy, dreaded by the king and nobles, and suspected by the popes. The monasteries hated them on account of the special privileges they had obtained, and the clergy hated them because their lands were exempted from the general payment of all tithes whatsoever.

The Collegiate Church was an attempt to remove education from the control of the monastic orders. Thomas Beck, bishop of St. Davids, made Llangadoc a collegiate church in 1283, and Abergwili in 1287. Llanddewi Brevi had already been recognized as such. St. Peter's, Ruthin, became a collegiate church in 1310. A Collegiate Church was in being at Caergybi (Holyhead) in 1291. Bishop Houghton and John of Gaunt founded St. Mary's College at St. Davids in 1365. Its endowments provided for a master, seven fellows, and two choristers. Towards the end of the fifteenth century it was united to the cathedral. There were collegiate churches at Carmarthen, Cardigan, Haverfordwest, and Tenby.

The question how far the monasteries were schools

of learning has been asked and answered in various ways by historians. Many have accepted the view that they were centres of learning, and that the Welsh scholars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were trained at the monasteries.[1] There is no evidence that the Welsh monasteries kept a free school. There was undoubtedly a school for the training of young monks, and it is equally certain that many others, *clerici* and probationers, benefited in some way. But the primary object of the monasteries was not superior education. They were not universities, and monks, as a rule, never professed to be scholars and teachers. The average monk was taught to read and sing. Necessity made them scholars, lawyers, versifiers, chroniclers, and builders. Necessity also made them enter into the life of the district about the monastery, and circumstances made them pioneers of Welsh agriculture and trade. But the young laity were instructed in the many grammar schools attached to the cathedrals and collegiate churches, and not at the monasteries. Towards the end of the fourteenth century a new generation of discontented men had arisen, who had been educated at the schools and at Oxford and Cambridge. These bitterly felt the disabilities under which they lived. Though members of the Iuns of Court, they could not become sheriffs or justices, or hold any position of authority and influence in their own land. Welshmen were forbidden to bear arms in market towns or fairs. They could not become possessors of land in English boroughs. A Welsh father was forbidden to permit more than one of his sons to take Holy Orders. Wales

[1] *Making of Modern Wales*, 198.—W. Llewelyn Williams, B.C.L.

having no representation in Parliament had no share in the making of its laws. Thieves and vagabonds easily escaped for safety to the marcher lands, and found refuge and shelter under the shadow of the great castles. All these facts must be borne in mind in order to understand the rebellion under Glyndwr. The people of Wales claimed a fuller recognition of their nationality.

Owain Glyndwr was a large landowner of high lineage, being a descendant of the princes of Powys. It is quite likely that he was educated at Oxford; it is certain that he read law at Westminster. Later, he became a courtier and a squire to Arundel. He was an English knight,[1] and accompanied Richard II. in his Scottish campaign.[2] In Shakespeare's plays he is a magician who could command the devil, which is absurd. His wife was a daughter of Sir David Hanmer, one of the justices of the King's Bench, and throughout his early years it is evident that he was friendly with the English. There was a keen dispute between him and his neighbour, Lord Grey of Ruthin, over the ownership of some land. Owain obtained a judgment in his favour in the law courts. When Henry of Lancaster ascended the throne Grey got the judgment reversed. Owain petitioned Parliament, but no notice was taken of him.

When Henry was preparing for his Scottish campaign, and Owain was summoned as a knight to join the ranks, it is said that the writ was delayed by Lord Grey. Owain took up arms against Lord Grey, and recovered the land of which he had been dispossessed. Thus the

[1] In a lawsuit between Richard le Scrope and Sir Robert de Grosvenor, in which he was a witness, he is described as Sir Owen de Glendore.

[2] *Works of Iolo Goch*, ed. C. Ashton.

spark was set to the tinder. Welshmen hurried from England, students returned from Oxford, and men of all classes from all parts of the country joined the movement. Owain's ecclesiastical policy is well defined. The hierarchy had become anti-national. He aimed at establishing a kind of autonomy for the Welsh Church under an archbishop. His eduational policy was far ahead of his times. He aimed at establishing two universities, one in North Wales and the other in South Wales.

In his time a papal schism existed. Boniface IX. was the Roman pope from 1389 to 1904, and Benedict XIII. was the Avignon pope from 1394 to 1415. The position of Benedict during the first five years was very insecure, even in France, but in 1403, the French king openly acknowledged him, and in 1405, Charles VI. wrote to Glyndwr, asking him to give a favourable consideration to the claims of the Avignon pope[1] to be the supreme pontiff. Glyndwr's chancellor was Griffin Yonge, who in early manhood had found his way into the court of Richard II., and received rapid preferment in the church. Yonge had to consider the position from every angle. There were difficulties on all sides. Archbishop Arundel had hurled his denunciations against the Welsh, and the Roman Pope, who was supported by England, refused to listen to Welsh overtures. The risk of losing the support of the English king was too great. Glyndwr had no choice but to accept the French pope, and in a letter written at Pennal, in Merioneth, in 1406, he appeals to the pope[2] through the medium of Charles VI., king of France.

[1] *Welsh Records in Paris*, 85–90.—T. Mathews.
[2] *Papal Register*, 1406.

This letter proves him to be a far-seeing statesman.[1] But things were not going on smoothly in France. Benedict was attacked by the Gallican bishops, and his position became full of peril. In 1408, the French king declared his neutrality, and the Avignon pope escaped for refuge to Aragon. In the meantime a contest had been going on in Wales over the bishopric of Bangor. Richard Young, an Englishman, was the nominee of the English crown, and was consecrated in Rome. In 1404, he is described as a prisoner among the Welsh.[2] Later, he was released and translated to Rochester. The bishopric remained vacant for over a year, and then Lewis Byford or Bifort was nominated by the Roman pontiff sometime in 1406, and consecrated. The archbishop of Canterbury refused to give him recognition. Byford was a Welshman, and how far he was supported by Glyndwr is not known.[3] Finding that the French Pope was a broken reed it is

[1] He agreed on his part, "as far as is possible," to recognize Benedict as the true Vicar of Christ, and then he enumerates his conditions. The most important are the following :—

(i) That the Church of St. Davids shall be restored to its original dignity as a Metropolitan Church, with Exeter, Hereford, Worcester, Leicester, St. Asaph, Bangor, and Llandaff as Suffragan Churches.

(ii) That the Lord Benedict shall provide the Metropolitan Church with prelates and priests who know our language.

(iii) That he shall revoke and annul annexations of parochial churchs with English monasteries and colleges.

(iv) That he shall concede to us that "*capella nostra de cetero sit libera.*"

(v) That we shall have two universities, "*videlicet unum in Northwallie et aliud in Swthwallie.*"

This letter was dated at Pennal on the 31st of March, 1406, 'in the sixth year of our rule." (*Welsh Records in Paris*, 53.—T. Matthews).

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] See *Archaelogia Cambrensis* (June, 1923).—J. R. Gabriel.

conceivable that he made overtures to the Roman pope, in order to strengthen his position. Byford was outlawed by the English government, and his position became untenable. After joining his fortune to Northumberland he was captured by the English, and imprisoned at Windsor. After a short captivity he regained his freedom and went to Rome. His successor in 1407 was Griffin Yonge, Glyndwr's chancellor, who was consecrated by the Avignon pope. Archbishop Arundel refused to acknowledge Yonge, and Benedict Nicholls was nominated by the crown. Nicholls was enthroned archbishop in Bangor in 1409, a clear indication that Glyndwr had become powerless. Griffin Yonge went over to France, made his peace with the Roman pontiff,[1] and received, in 1418, the see of Ross in Scotland.[2] As chancellor to Glyndwr, he overestimated the influence and power of France and the importance of the Avignon connection. All Glyndwr's plans failed. When his English allies were defeated, and help from France ceased, his position became hopeless. The peasants got tired of a warfare from which they gained nothing, and Glyndwr's schemes for a new Wales were beyond their comprehension. It is a very significant fact that, when his fortunes were at the lowest ebb, he was never caught. It is not known where he spent the last few years of his life, and no one can tell to-day where his grave is.

Some of the bards of that stirring period may be mentioned. Iolo Goch, a native of Denbighshire, had received a good education at one of the universities. In one of his poems he refers to the betrayal of Richard

[1] Wylie *Henry* V., I., 446.
[2] *Papal Registers.*

II., and implies that Glyndwr was the avenger of his death. He is decidedly a religious poet. Gruffydd Llwyd was *bardd teulu* to Glyndwr, and his stirring odes influenced the educated classes to rally round his patron's standard. Rhys Goch Eryri was a man of means, a well-known inhabitant of Snowdonia, and a strong supporter of Glyndwr. Sion Cent was a learned bard and divine, who lived at Kentchurch, in Herefordshire, where he was a neighbour of Sir John Scudamore, who had married Glyndwr's daughter. The most significant thing about him is that he is the only Welsh bard who had leanings towards Lollardism. Howel Swrdwal was first and foremost a religious poet, and composed a beautiful ode to the Blessed Virgin. Another bard of great fame in his day was Llawdden, vicar of Machynlleth, in the middle of the fifteenth century. All existing evidence goes to prove that religion was flourishing in Wales at this period, and apart from the testimony of some of the earlier bards we know of nothing against the great abbeys. Guto'r Glyn, who wrote in the reign of Henry VI., describes Valle Crucis Abbey as the succour of the needy, a light to wayfarers, and speaks of the abbots in the highest terms of praise. Dafydd ap Edmwnd was a scholar, and a man of position and means. He was a very prominent figure at an important Eisteddfod held at Carmarthen in 1451. He nowhere refers to the great religious houses as in a state of decadence. Gutyn Owain, a bard and antiquary, who spent much of his time at the abbeys of Basingwerk and Strata Florida, addressed a number of poems to the abbots of Valle Crucis, wherein he describes the life led by the monks, whom he describes as pious and generous men. There

is not the faintest suggestion or moral corruption. Tudur Aled was a prominent bard who flourished in the reign of Henry VII., and belonged to the Franciscan order. He was a strong Lancastrian, and a follower of Rhys ap Thomas of Dynevor. He wrote eulogies to the great men of his time, to abbots and monks, and to Dean Salusbury of St. Asaph. The year of his death is not known, but he was alive in 1525. From his writings we gather that the monasteries of Wales were admirably conducted. Lewis Glyn Cothi is a still more important contemporary witness. He was neither priest nor monk, but a man of good education, and apparently of good family. He knew every part of Wales and the border towns. At Chester he married a widow of that city, without the consent of the citizens, and brought upon himself much trouble on account of the restrictive laws. He was a man of affairs and of social standing, for he was an officer under Jasper, earl of Pembroke. His poems are a mine of information to the historian and genealogist. He lived through the stirring times of the Wars of the Roses, and saw Henry Tudor placed upon the throne of England and Wales. He was, moreover, a deeply religious man, and refers to the monastic institutions with much affection and respect. Whatever may have been the case with some of the English abbeys,[1] there is no trustworthy contemporary evidence that the abbeys of Wales at the time of the Dissolution had become useless, corrupt, or dissolute.

The Chronicle of Adam of Usk[2] throws considerable

[1] Froude's *Short Studies.*

[2] The first part was discovered among the Heber *MSS.* in 1876. The second part was found at Belvoir Castle in 1885.

light on the events of the early part of the fifteenth century. Born about 1352 at Usk, in Monmouthshire, he was fortunate to come under the patronage of the powerful house of Mortimer. He received an Oxford education, graduated Doctor of Laws, and became a teacher of civil law. While he was employed in this capacity at the university a violent conflict occurred between two parties among the students, the Southerners and Welsh on the one side, and the Northerners on the other.[1] Adam himself was indicted as the ringleader and abettor of the Welsh, and had to leave Oxford. For some years he practised as an advocate in Archbishop Arundel's court. The Arundels and Mortimers were his constant patrons. The fall of the earl of Arundel in 1397, and the banishment of the archbishop, caused him serious trouble, and he determined to attach himself to the fortunes of Henry of Lancaster in his struggle for the throne. With the accession of Henry, fortune began to smile on him again, and preferments in England and Wales soon came in his way. He was on the committee appointed to advise on the deposition of the king, and he saw King Richard, "fair as Absalom," in the Tower. Then in 1401–2, there came an extraordinary change in his fortune. He suddenly left London for Rome. We know that Glyndwr had already raised the standard of rebellion, and Adam of Usk had got embroiled in some unlawful attempt to procure horses in London. His subsequent history goes far to prove that he had already allied himself to the fortunes of Glyndwr. While at Rome he appears to have failed to win over to his side the Roman pontiff, unless we regard the appointment of Bifort to the bishopric of

[1] Lyte's *History of the University of Oxford*, 308.

Bangor as a concession on the part of Innocent VII. Then he left for France and Flanders. Glyndwr gave up dallying with Rome, and recognized the Avignon pope, and another French auxiliary force landed at Milford Haven. During these years it would seem that Adam of Usk was acting as a secret agent for the Welsh leader. In 1408, important changes were taking place in France, and the French king withdrew from the papal contest. The Avignon pope was obliged to leave France, and took refuge in Aragon. All hopes of further help from France faded away, and Adam of Usk realized his imminent danger. He determined to set out to sea at once, and managed, after many trials and vicissitudes, to reach the " port of Barmouth," in Wales, and there he hid in the hills and caves and thickets. Harlech Castle had fallen, and Glyndwr's position had become hopeless. Adam succeeded in making his way to Shropshire, and through the intervention of David Holbache, member of Parliament for Shrewsbury, but undoubtedly a secret partisan of Glyndwr, he obtained the kings's pardon in 1411. He was again restored to his old position of advocate in the archbishop's court, and received a living in Shropshire. But the evening of his life was spent at Llangibby, in Monmouthshire. He was buried in the parish church of Usk, where a brass tablet with his epitaph still exists. For three hundred years the inscription on the tablet baffled all the attempts of the most competent scholars to read it. At last it has been deciphered and explained.[1] The inscription is in Welsh, and consists of eight lines in the *Cywydd* metre, but the engraver clearly did not understand a word of Welsh, and jumbled the words

[1] *Cymmrodor*, XXXI (1921).

inextricably together. He misread some of the letters in the copy as well, thus introducing more serious difficulties, and rendering the inscription a mysterious tangle.

Adam of Usk is a type of the worldly ecclesiastic of the fifteenth century. There is no element of greatness in his character. Truly religion was at a low ebb in the society he moved, but the light had not died out in many a rural church on the hillsides and secluded vales. The bishops and dignitaries were chosen from among the sycophants and hirelings of the great lords, and they impoverished the Church by their extravagance and excess. The sheep looked up and were not fed. Such was the state of things in England towards the end of the fifteenth century. "The sun of the Plantagenets went down in clouds and thick darkness; the coming of the Tudors gave as yet no promise of light; it was 'as the morning spread upon the mountains,' darkest before the dawn."[1] A bold and independent thinker, however, held the see of St. Asaph from 1444 to 1450. This was Reginald Pecock, said to be a Welshman and a "priest of the Diocese of St. Davids." He was translated to Chichester, but on account of his views in his *Treatise on Faith*, he was deprived and convicted of heresy.[2] Pecock was "the expositor of the province of reason in matters of religion in opposition to the absolute dogmatism of the one party, and the narrow scripturalism of the other," but he had not the moral strength of the martyr, broke down under examination, and made an abject submission. He was kept in rigorous seclusion until he was relieved by death.

[1] Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, III., 632.
[2] Brown Willis, *St. Asaph*, I., 83.

II.

There was no clamour for the Reformation in Wales, and there is no evidence that "the people were sunk in ignorance." They simply refused to accept the new Protestant views. There were many schools and colleges apart from the monastic institutions. There were bards and chroniclers who recorded the stirring events of the reign of the first Tudor king. Most of the records were preserved at the great abbeys and priories. How many priceless *MSS.* were scattered and lost at the Dissolution we have no means of knowing, but the comparatively little that has survived only heightens our desire to recover what may have been carried away by the monks to the Continent, or what may be still hiding in some unknown recesses. The Welsh people were contented and happy during the reign of Henry VII., and great men were born and bred in Wales about the end of the fifteenth century.

Welshmen fought on both sides[1] in the Wars of the Roses. Richard, duke of York, was a Mortimer, and a descendant of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth. Henry VI. was half-brother to Edmund and Jasper Tudor. In the Marches the Yorkists were supreme, but in West Wales the Lancastrians had a large following. It was only when Henry Tudor became the champion of the Lancastrian cause that Welshmen showed real enthusiasm in the struggle. English historians have dealt very inadequately with important events leading up to the Tudor victory. They refer to them cursorily, fitfully, and impatiently, and the few meagre statements are too often lacking in accuracy. Very notable is the absence

[1] *Wales and the Wars of the Roses.*—H. T. Evans.

of a detailed account of one of the most momentous events in English history—the march of Henry from Milford Haven to Bosworth, which led to the establishment of the Tudor dynasty. Scarcely anything is said of the masterly brain that planned that campaign and made victory possible. There is no doubt that the master mind was Sir Rhys ap Thomas.[1] The story of his life deserves to be better known.[2] His grandfather, Gruffydd ap Nicolas of Dynevor, claimed descent from the old princes of Wales, and in his time was the most powerful chieftain in South Wales. At the time of his death Gruffydd owned "seven strong castles." The castle that he favoured most was the one at Carmarthen. In the Wars of the Roses he sided with the Yorkists, for no particular reason except that Jasper, the Lancastrian earl of Pembroke, had taken Cilgerran Castle out of his hands. He fought for York with a strong bodyguard of eight hundred men at Mortimer's Cross, and died on the field of battle. Thomas, his successor, when the country got more settled, withdrew to Burgundy for several years, taking with him his young son Rhys, who was born in 1456. The youth grew up in the Burgundian Court of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold, handsome in person and skilled in all manly exercises.

When Rhys inherited his father's possessions, Edward IV. was firmly seated on the throne, the leaders of the Red Rose were all dead or in exile, and he found himself without a rival in power and popularity in South Wales. Not satisfied with his many castles he

[1] The Patent Rolls, and the *Ballads of Tudor Times*.

[2] Leland's *Itinerary*, George Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, and M. E. James's *Life of Sir Rhys ap Thomas*. See *Cambrian Register*, Vol. I., and *Cambrian Plutarch*, 273.

purchased another in Pembrokeshire, and made it his chief residence. This castle of Carew he enlarged and beautified, and here he lived in great state as a loyal Yorkist. He had two thousand tenants of his own, and could command the allegiance of a large body of men-at-arms. King Edward had complete confidence in him, but it is very probable that Rhys was anticipating trouble of some sort, for he busied himself with training his retainers and instructing the squires in the science of war. He made himself popular with the clergy by building and repairing churches. He befriended the bards, Tudur Aled and Lewis Glyn Cothi. Many of their poems in his eulogy have come down to us. He was surrounded by devoted adherents and friends, and by the leading ecclesiastics of the day, such as the bishop of St. Davids and the abbot of Talley. So matters stood when the death of King Edward brought confusion again to England and Wales.

King Richard by his murders and savage measures, and by his desire to espouse his niece, had raised a storm of indignation, and Margaret Beaufort and the dowager queen swore an alliance between their children, the exiled earl of Richmond and the Princess Elizabeth. Rhys, who had no faith in Richard, began to waver in his allegiance, and nearly got implicated in the Buckingham rising. Richard kept a watchful eye on his doings. He was required to take the oath of fidelity, and surrender as hostage his little son of four years old. The abbot of Talley proved equal to the occasion by framing a letter which satisfied the king, and saved the child. Rhys was greatly relieved, and he decided to act with great circumspection. The bishop of St. Davids and the abbot of Talley, and indeed all

the clergy, were strong partisans of the earl of Richmond. Many missives were carried from Tenby and Pembroke by merchantmen to the exiled earl in France. The earl had spent his early childhood at Pembroke Castle. After the Lancastrian defeat at Mortimer's Cross in 1461, he was removed a prisoner to Raglan in charge of William Herbert, the new Yorkist earl of Pembroke, and there he remained until 1469, when Herbert himself lost his life at Banbury. Henry Tudor now fell into the hands of his relatives, and Henry VI. was once more recognized as king. The tide soon turned, and young Henry Tudor was present at the battle of Tewkesbury. After this disastrous defeat, he and his uncle Jasper fled as fast as horses could carry them to Chepstow, and after boarding a small ship got safely away once more to Jasper's castle of Pembroke. Danger threatened on all sides, but Thomas White, a merchant of Tenby, speedily came to their succour,[1] and in one of his ships they sailed to Brittany, and they remained in exile for fourteen years.

Towards the end of this period a strong party was being formed quietly to rid the country of the tyrant Richard. England looked upon the earl of Richmond as a deliverer. The men of North Wales thought of him as a Tudor, related to their best families; but to the South Welshmen he was a countryman born and bred in their midst. Foremost among his supporters were Rhys ap Thomas and his friends—Morgan of Kidwelly, Sir John Wogan, Sir Thomas Perrott, Arnold Butler, William Matthew. In North Wales, Richard Cyffin, dean of Bangor, and Sir

[1] Fenton's *Pembrokeshire*, 253.

Robert Salisbury were working strenuously but secretly. At last Henry landed with about two thousand foreigners at Dale, near Milford Haven, and Rhys ap Thomas with his goodly array of men at arms proceeded to meet him at Haverfordwest. Rhys had a following of two thousand strong of well-trained soldiers.[1] Henry's French troops were of a poor quality, in great part the outcasts of society, and already suffering from a horrible plague called the sweating sickness. A council of war was held, and plans were discussed and agreed upon. Rhys and Henry decided to traverse the country by different routes, Henry to keep to the west and Rhys to the east, but each making towards Shropshire, and each picking up what auxiliaries they could on the way. Rhys' route was through Carmarthen to Llandovery, Brecon, Llanidloes, Newtown, towards Shrewsbury. Henry marched along the coasts of Pembrokeshire to Cardigan, Llwyn Dafydd, Aberayron, Aberystwyth, Machynlleth. They eventually met in Montgomeryshire, near Newtown, and united their forces. At Shrewsbury they received their first check. The governor declined to open the gates. Wiser counsels prevailed inside, and the invading army was admitted into the town. Soon they were joined by Sir Gilbert Talbot with a strong body of followers. The Stanleys kept back, and were obliged to act with much circumspection, for young Lord Strange, the heir of the Stanleys, was a hostage in Richard's hands. With Henry were the two bishops, Morton and Fox, the earl of Oxford, Sir Gilbert Talbot, his uncle Jasper, and Rhys ap Thomas, whose picked troop of some 2000

[1] "A great bande of soldiers."—Polydore Vergil, 217 (Camden Society).

horsemen formed the mainstay of Henry's army. Sir William Brandon, the standard bearer, bore the Red Dragon of Wales. The two armies now faced each other at Bosworth field.

On the other side of the heath could be seen the banners of the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, the Earl of Northumberland, while over all floated the Royal Standard of England. Almost as soon as the action had begun Lord Stanley and his force deserted to Henry. A little later a second body of men, under the Earl of Northumberland, changed face. Richard was furious, and resolved to end the fight by a personal encounter with his rival, and tore across the intervening space, cutting down Sir William Brandon, and actually reached Richmond. In the encounter which followed, Richard III., the last of the Plantagenets, was cut down, and Rhys ap Thomas is credited with having dealt the fatal blow. He was knighted on the field of battle, and shortly afterwards created constable of Brecon, chamberlain of South Wales, and governor of the province. Thus for the rest of his life he became practically all powerful in Wales. In all the insurrections against Henry VII., Sir Rhys gave valuable assistance to the king and fought at his side. The lords marchers were kept in subjection by the Court of Ludlow, with which Sir Rhys did not interfere. The Church thrived in his time, and Welshmen after a long period of exclusion were again appointed to the bishoprics. Henry Deane was appointed to Bangor in 1496. John Morgan became bishop of St. Davids in the same year.[1] Edward Vaughan, a renowned builder and re-

[1] He was a brother of Trahaearn Morgan of Muddlescombe, Kidwelly (Campbell, I., 77–91). His tomb may be seen at St. Davids Cathedral.

storer of the cathedral, became bishop in 1509. No Welshman had held the bishopric of St. Asaph since John Trevor, who became involved in the rebellion of Glyndwr, but in 1500 Dafydd ap Ieuan was appointed, and he was succeeded by Dafydd ap Owen. Next to Archbishop Morton, the most prominent ecclesiastic in the reign of Henry VII. was Henry Deane. He was a native of Gwent, and undoubtedly Welsh speaking if not of Welsh descent. Having received his education at Oxford, he became prior of Llanthony. In 1495 he was appointed chancellor of Ireland. A conciliatory policy was adopted by the chancellor and the deputy, Sir Edward Poynings. Through the energy and wit of Deane the disaffected nobles were won over, and he prevailed on the Irish Parliament to pass the Poynings' Act, which had far-reaching consequences. The ability displayed by the chancellor was rewarded with a bishopric.[1] Bangor Cathedral had been in ruins since the reign of Henry IV. and the Glyndwr rising. The bishops had ceased to reside there, and the revenues of the see had been seized by the nobles. Bishop Deane went to reside in the diocese, and immediately applied his energy to restore the cathedral and to recover the ecclesiastical property of the see. Before his translation to the bishopric of Salisbury in 1499, the restoration of the cathedral was well in hand, and nearly all the revenues of the see had been reclaimed.[2] He was appointed lord keeper of the Great Seal, and on the death of Cardinal Morton he succeeded to the primacy. Soon afterwards he was appointed papal legate, and officiated at the marriage of Prince Arthur with Catherine

[1] Wood *Athen. Oxon.*

[2] Browne Willis' *Bangor*, 95.

of Aragon. He died at Lambeth in 1503. One of the executors of his will was Thomas Wolsey, the future cardinal, who had been a chaplain in his household.

Henry VII. never forgot the help he received in his urgent need from Sir Rhys ap Thomas. They were of the same age, and both had spent their early manhood on the Continent. Henry's attitude towards Wales is peculiarly significant. (1) He appointed a commission to inquire into his Welsh descent. (2) His eldest son was named Arthur. (3) The repressive Acts of Henry IV. were not enforced. (4) In England he ruthlessly put down the great nobles, but in Wales he allowed Sir Rhys ap Thomas to do as he liked. (5) He charged his son Henry "to have special care for Wales,"[1] and we find that Henry VIII. continued his father's policy up to the death of Sir Rhys ap Thomas. The old nobleman appears to have had some prescience of coming evil, and withdrew from the court as much as possible. He lost his son and heir in 1522, who was buried in Worcester Cathedral, near the resting place of the playmate of his childhood, Prince Arthur. He lived quietly at Carew, enjoying the society of his friend and neighbour, Bishop Vaughan of St. Davids, and superintending the education of his young grandson. Feeling that the end was drawing near, he left his beautiful castle and all the other stately homes which he possessed, and entered the humble Franciscan friary, in Carmarthen. And there the old nobleman, knight of the garter, friend of kings and princes, breathed his last in 1525, and there he was buried near Edmund Tudor, the first earl of Richmond, and the father of

[1] George Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, Pt. III., 39.

Henry VII.[1] His last days must have been darkened by anxiety on account of his grandson, whom he left a defenceless boy of seventeen, laden with large possessions, in the perilous days of Henry VIII.

After his grandfather's death we find that young Rhys ap Gruffydd attached himself to Cardinal Wolsey's household. He was fond of books and pedigrees, a student rather than a courtier, devoted to the pursuit of the new learning, and called himself Rice Griffith Fitz Urien. Some of the great offices held by old Sir Rhys were now given to Lord Ferrars, who treated young Rhys with very little respect. Rhys married Lady Katharine Howard, a daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, and aunt to Anne Boleyn. In 1529, Wolsey was disgraced, and Anne Boleyn and her aunt had a violent quarrel. Henry VIII. regarded himself as the true representative of the royal house of Wales, and looked with suspicion on young Rhys' pretensions to a descent from Urien Rheged, one of King Arthur's knights. Rhys had a furious quarrel at Carmarthen with Lord Ferrars, and both drew their daggers, and a riot was caused. In 1530, Rhys was arraigned on a charge of high treason, five years after the death of his grandfather. The charges against him have never been substantiated. The most important were these: That he conspired with two of his servants to depose the king in order to place the crown on the head of the king of Scotland; that he took upon him a new name, Rice ap Griffith Fitz Urien, to the intent that he might more worthily obtain the principality of Wales. In

[1] After the Dissolution his remains were removed to St. Peter's Church, where a stately monument was reared to his memory.

December, 1531, this young man of twenty-three was led forth to be executed on Tower Hill. The imperial ambassador writing to Charles V. refers to the execution in these terms: "You will have learnt the condemnation of Seigneur Ris Norfolk's brother-in-law, whose father was formerly Governor of Wales, and his grandfather also, and one of those who did great service to Henry VII. in his early necessity and the conquest of his kingdom. . . . It is a common report that had it not been for the king's lady, of whom Ris and his wife had spoken, he would never have come to this miserable end." His vast estates were confiscated to the Crown. The attainder was removed by Queen Elizabeth, and some portions of the estates were restored to his son. Rhys was executed in 1531. In less than five years Anne Boleyn was hurried to her death, and over three hundred monastic houses were despoiled, their revenues and valuables granted to the king, and among them the Grey Friars house at Carmarthen, where lay the bodies of Sir Rhys ap Thomas and Edmund Tudor, the king's grandfather.

The vast amount of plunder acquired by Henry, and shared by his courtiers, on the suppression of the smaller monasteries, only whetted their insatiable cupidity for more. The instruments employed by Thomas Cromwell were men who well understood the message on which they were sent. The chief of these agents were Richard Layton, Thomas Legh, William Peters, and John London. A report, charging the friars and nuns with all kinds of immorality, was laid before the House of Commons in 1536. Of these commissioners, John London was a notorious priest, who was afterwards publicly convicted of perjury and condemned to ride

with his face to the horse's tail at Windsor and Oakingham, with papers about his head.[1]

A second set of agents were employed to sow dissensions in monastic houses, and to encourage the members to impeach one another. But the most shameful of all the agents were young gallants who, while pretending to be travellers on the high way, succeeded in gaining admission into nunneries and sought to destroy the chastity of the nuns.

All the monasteries of Wales, colleges, chantries, and hospitals were confiscated and destroyed. By one fell swoop all these religious and educational establishments were swept away, with a depraved and ruthless ignorance. Everything was thrown into the utmost confusion, and there was no leader to appeal to. Everything a Welshman held dear was treated with scorn. The old people remembered how they rejoiced when the first Tudor gained the crown, and they lived long enough to execrate the Tudor name. There was no parochial school left in the majority of parishes, the bells were silent, the churches were left uncared for, and the monastic priests begged their bread in absolute despair. The sufferings caused by the invasions of Edward I. and Henry IV. were mild in comparison with this overwhelming disaster. The venerable buildings were being stripped bare by rascals and vagabonds and greedy lawyers, and Welshmen determined to resist what was called Reformation with all their might. Among the spoliators there was no regard for priceless antiquities. For a piece of brass they would deface the most memorable inscription, and not content with

[1] Fox's *Acts and Monuments.*

what they could find above ground, they dug open vaults and graves, and tossing out the bones of the dead, they used the finely carved stone coffins for pig troughs. A more irreparable injury was inflicted by the destruction of the invaluable libraries which the religious houses possessed than by the ruin of the buildings.[1] The impropriators "reserved of those library books, some to serve their jakes, some to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots. Some they sold to grocers and shop-sellers, and some they sent over sea to the bookbinders, not in small number, but at times whole ships full to the wondering of foreign nations." A merchant bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings, and he used the stuff instead of brown paper for ten years.

The distribution of such an immense amount of property among the new members of Parliament and the new justices in Wales made them dread any reconciliation with Rome. They became the relentless persecutors of those who clung stedfastly to the faith and observances of their forefathers, and helped to frustrate all the efforts of Mary to re-establish the old order of things. The lead was torn off the roofs of churches and abbeys, and they crumbled into ruins. Bells, ornaments, vestments, jewels, and plate were commandeered nominally for the king's use. Not one church escaped from vandalism in any part of Wales. Such magnificent buildings as Neath, Strata Florida, Talley, Valle Crucis, and St. Dogmael's were allowed to crumble and decay. There were no stipends assigned for these churches, no priests, no services, and no communion plate. In Wales there was no prejudice against popery as in

[1] Leland's *New Year's Gift to King Henry the Eight.*

England, and the Reformation made no progress at all until the reign of Elizabeth. Monasticism was no doubt a spent force. The monks had become selfish and arrogant and worldly, and had abandoned the idea of preaching the Gospel to every creature. But the financial losses caused by the depredations of rapacious nobles and courtiers were enormous, and quite unnecessary. The Welsh Church was crippled beyond recovery. Many churches crumbled into ruins, never to be rebuilt.[1] The poverty of the Church in Wales became a byword for three hundred years, and four or five churches were grouped together to be served by one priest for the wages of a labourer. The losses were appalling. What were the compensating gains? The New Learning had a chance of spreading, and a new spirit of enterprise in literature and science came into being. Welshmen bore a prominent share in the great age of Elizabeth in the activities of the whole realm. A new energy made itself manifest.

[1] A most interesting *MS.* of Welsh sermons by an unknown priest reveals the fact that sermons were usual in pre-Reformation times (Havod *MSS.*, 22, p. 80—195). These sermons are mainly translations of *Liber Ffestialis*, printed by Caxton in 1483. The old priest was a master of the Welsh language. It is not known where he ministered, but his dialect is that of north Cardiganshire. (Transactions of the *Cymmrodorion*, 1925.)

CHAPTER V.

The Reformation in Wales.

IT is a significant fact that no Welshman perished in the flames in the reign of Mary. Wales cannot boast of a single Protestant martyr. Robert Ferrar, the deposed bishop of St. Davids who was burnt at Carmarthen, was an Englishman,[1] and the hundreds who saw him die abhorred his views while pitying his terrible fate. The Reformation made very slow headway for many years in Wales. In the interval previous to the publication of the Bible and Prayer Book in Welsh, the preaching of the ardent reformers must have been attempted with very great difficulty. With the Reformation came strange laws and an anti-Welsh spirit. Unscrupulous adventurers possessed the abbeys and priories, but the people silently clung to the faith of their forefathers.

If there were no Protestant martyrs in the reign of Mary, there were many Catholic martyrs in the reign of Elizabeth and even later.[2] Only a few need be mentioned. Richard White was a native of Llanidloes who had received his education at Cambridge. He kept a school in North Wales, but the justices got him arrested, and he was thrown into Ruthin prison. He was hanged at Wrexham in 1584. William Davies is said to be a

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[1] Rawlins White, burnt at Cardiff, was probably an Englishman.

[2] See list in 430—E, Additional *MSS.*, Nat. Library of Wales.

native of Denbighshire who was trained at Rheims.[1] He chose Anglesey as his field of labour. At last he was caught at Holyhead and thrown into prison. After cruel sufferings he was hanged at Beaumaris in 1593. John Roberts was a native of Trawsfynydd, Merionethshire, and a friend of William Laud at St. John's College, Oxford. His parents outwardly conformed on account of the heavy fines. After leaving Oxford, Roberts studied law in London, but with his friend Leander Jones he joined the Jesuits, and proceeded to the college at Valladolid in 1598. Both changed their minds; they left the Jesuits and joined the Benedictine Order.[2] Having been appointed head of the English Benedictine monks by the pope, Roberts proceeded to found a Benedictine seminary at Douay. He returned to England and suffered imprisonment on four occasions. In 1606 he was expelled. Again he returned in some disguise, but he was discovered and arrested in London. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn. Robert Jones, William Morgan, and David Lewis were priests trained in the Jesuit schools. Philip Evans and John Lloyd, both priests, suffered death in 1678. Both were of Cymric lineage, and no doubt Welsh speaking. Philip Evans was born in Monmouthshire, and was connected with the Herbert family. John Lloyd was a native of Breconshire. Their chief supporters among the gentry were the Carnes and Turbervilles. A reward of £200 was offered for the arrest of Philip Evans. It was effected in 1678, and Lloyd was arrested about the same time. Both were

[1] He may have been the same person as the William Davies who was ordained priest at Bangor in 1557.

[2] Taunton's *English Benedictines*.

incarcerated in the Black Tower of Cardiff. They were publicly tried and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

The story of the life-long exile of Welsh priests, their labours as missioners disguised as rustic labourers, craftsmen, gardeners, secretaries, has never been fully told. William Cynwal, priest and poet, and the doughty opponent of Edmund Prys, the archdeacon of Merioneth, in a bardic contest, earned his living by working as a blacksmith.[1] We know that many escaped to Flanders, Spain, and Italy, and their life story is lost. In 1568, however, there lived at the University town of Douay three old Oxford men. These three were Morgan Phillips, Owen Lewis, and William Allen.[2] Phillips had been Fellow of Oriel and principal of St. Mary's Hall. Owen Lewis received his education at Winchester and New College, Oxford, and was elected a fellow of his college. Soon after the accession of Elizabeth he resigned his fellowship and accepted a professorship at Douay. Speedy promotion came in his way, and he was appointed canon of Cambrai and archdeacon of Hainault. William Allen was a pupil of Phillips at Oriel. These three founded a seminary at Douay to supply the Catholics of England and Wales with priests. During the first ten years of its existence, scores of devoted men, ready to risk their life for the faith, crossed the sea to Britain. Many of them, like Bennett and Gwinn, returned to Wales.[3] Then Allen, who had become the head of the seminary at Douay, was called

[1] The evidence of his poems.

[2] *Vide* Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*; Dodd's *Church History*, II.; Boase's *Oxford Univ. Register*.

[3] Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*, and Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*

to Rome by the pope for consultation. The foundation of an English college in Rome was the result. Maurice Clenocke, or more correctly Morris of Clynnog, in Carnarvonshire, was appointed Camerarius of the new college. Morris had been educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and had been rector of Corwen, prebendary of York, and chaplain to Cardinal Pole. A little before Mary's death he was nominated bishop of Bangor, but was never consecrated. While in charge of the college he was in constant communication with Owen Lewis, who later became bishop of Cassano, and with Gruffydd Roberts, canon of Milan, and chaplain to Cardinal Borromeo.[1] On account of dissensions among the students, Morris was removed from the rectorship, and a Jesuit was appointed in his place. Henceforward there was strife between the Welsh Catholics abroad and the Jesuits, and the number of Welsh students steadily decreased.

The most distinguished of the Benedictines was John Jones, better known as Father Leander, who was born in 1575 in the parish of Llanfrynach, Breconshire. From Merchant Taylor's School he went to St. John's College, Oxford, and there he met William Laud, and they became firm friends. He was elected fellow of his college, and applied himself to the study of law. He strongly leaned towards the Church of Rome, and abandoning his fellowship, he proceeded to Spain and joined the Benedictines of Compostella as Leander de Sancto Martino. His next move was to Douay as professor of Hebrew and Divinity. He afterwards became prior of St. Gregory at Douay. Wood styles him " the ornament of the English Benedictines in his time,

[1] Knox, *Records of English Catholics*, I., 430, II., 469.

a person of extraordinary eloquence, generally knowing in all arts and sciences, beloved by all that knew him and his worth."[1] In 1534 he came over to England at the invitation of his old friend, Archbishop Laud, to discuss certain points in the religious controversy, and Laud's enemies made much use of this fact.[2] Before anything was accomplished, Father Leander breathed his last in London in 1535.

The Welsh Catholics were no less active in the field of Welsh literature. Many Welsh books were issued and secretly circulated, but the best known of them are *Y Drych Cristnogawl*, and a grammar of the Welsh language published in 1567 at Milan, both by Canon Gruffydd Roberts. Morris Clynnog was the author of *Athravaeth Gristnogawl*, a catechism of religious doctrine. Roger Smyth was a diligent writer and propagandist, not in priest's orders. He was a native of St. Asaph, and received his education at Douay and Rome. He spent the latter part of his life in Paris. His manual of Christian doctrine, published in 1609, and a Welsh translation of a French work called *Theater du Mond*, became popular. Father John Salisbury translated Bellarmine's treatise on Catholic doctrine into Welsh. He belonged to an old North Wales family, and received his education at Valladolid. In 1615 he became the superior of the Jesuits for the Welsh district, and resided in some capacity at Raglan Castle. John David Rhys, who belonged to St. Donat's, Bridgend, was a student of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1555. He became a tutor to the heir of Sir Edward Stradling, and both

[1] *Athen. Oxon.*, 498.

[2] In Laud's trial he is mentioned as Laud's "chamber fellow" at Oxford.

went to the university of Sienna, where Rhys qualified in medicine. After several years he returned to Wales and practised as a doctor in Breconshire. He was an excellent scholar and linguist. His Welsh grammar, written in Latin, is a remarkable work. It was published in London in 1592. A very popular book of devotion among Welsh Catholics in Stuart times was *Allwydd Paradwys*, by Father John Hughes. It was printed at Liege in 1670.

The first herald of the Reformation in Wales was William Barlow, whose name looms large not only in the history of West Wales but of the whole Reformation movement. He came into touch with Wales when he was appointed prior of Haverfordwest, through the favour of Anne Boleyn. His stay was short but stormy, and he complained of the actions of the bishop, who with his "ungodly spiritual advisers supported the friars" against him. He was removed to Bisham in Berkshire. Royal favour continued to follow him, and he was raised first to the see of St. Asaph and translated to St. Davids in 1536. His task for twelve years resolved itself into a bitter struggle against the "superstitious practices" of the Welsh, whose standpoint he never tried to understand. Barlow tried to foist his Protestantism on an unwilling people, and it was presented in the English tongue. Very few Welshmen could be found willing to preach against popery, and Barlow was up against a wall when he interfered with the images and shrines. His active connection with Wales ends with his translation to Wells in 1548. He was of a restless temperament, and his actions prove that he was not a man of high principle. His recantation in the reign of Mary showed a lack of moral courage.

Towards understanding the course of the Reformation movement it is necessary to consider the rise of two reforming parties. Many of the Marian exiles found refuge at Frankfort on the Main, but contention sprang up immediately between the extreme Calvinists and "the Prayer Book men." They agreed to have two ministers, John Knox and Thomas Lever,[1] but the controversy grew so hot that the Lord's Supper was not celebrated for several months. Then Richard Cox and John Jewel arrived with their company. Cox had been one of the framers of the Prayer Book of 1552, and he was as resolute for the full use of the book of England as Knox was for the book of Geneva. A compromise was an impossibility, and Knox was turned out. Then the Calvinists determined to migrate to Basle and Geneva.[2] Though rid of the extremists, peace did not reign very long among the exiles at Frankfort. Robert Horne[3] became pastor and Richard Chambers sole deacon, but a dispute arose whether the pastor was above the Church or the Church above the pastor. Horne and Chambers were turned out, and they moved to Strasburg, where they joined a number of like-minded reformers. At the accession of Elizabeth the Calvinists at Geneva found themselves in a quandary. They wished to return, but Sir William Cecil wrote to Whittingham, their pastor, "Neither you nor any born under this kingdom may be permitted to break the bond of obedience and uniformity." In 1559, John Knox left Geneva and returned to Scotland, and Calvin urged Whittingham to accept Presbyterian ordination

[1] Afterwards President of St. John's College, Cambridge.
[2] "*A Brief Discourse of the troubles at Frankfort*" (1575).
[3] Afterwards bishop of Winchester.

and become pastor to the group of exiles. He was a native of Chester, and had received his education at Oxford and in Germany. With Coverdale and William Cole[1] he brought out the Genevan version of the Bible. Most of the exiles returned from abroad soon after the accession of Elizabeth, and brought back with them a form of Puritanism which could not endure Episcopacy in any form. Whittingham, as an expert linguist, was invited to join an embassy to France, and while there became acquainted with the Earl of Warwick, the brother of the Earl of Leicester. The two brothers moved the queen on his behalf to secure his appointment to the deanery of Durham, and Whittingham became dean in 1563. For many years he conformed as to rites and ceremonies, and "being skilful in music" improved the singing of the cathedral choir. Serious trouble arose when Edwin Sandys, who had known Whittingham abroad, was appointed to the archbishopric of York. A commission decided that his title to the deanery was invalid, not having been ordained after the orders of the Church of England but after the form of Geneva. The career of a very able and good man ended dismally. He was dispossessed, and died soon after, after holding the deanery for sixteen years.[2]

Among the Marian exiles in Switzerland was a notable Welshman, whose return to Wales, first as bishop of St. Asaph in 1560, and then as bishop of St. Davids in 1561, opened a new era in the history of the Church

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[1] Afterwards President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Dean of Lincoln. (*History of Corpus Christi.*—T. Fowler, 125.)

[2] *The Life and Death of Master William Whittingham*, by a student of the Temple, *circa* 1603.

in Wales. Richard Davies was born in 1501 at Aberconway, and received his education at New Inn Hall, Oxford. He was preferred to the benefices of Burnham and Maids Moreton in Buckinghamshire by Edward VI. He was also a canon of St. Asaph. Being a prominent reformer and a married man, he was deprived of his preferments by Mary, and he escaped with his wife and family to Geneva, where he suffered much privation. In two or three years he acquired a sufficient knowledge of French to minister to a French congregation until the accession of Elizabeth. In the diocese of St. Asaph he found boys as prebends of the cathedral, and very few available preachers. A similar state of things existed at St. Davids. The truth is that there were no Welsh priests who were willing to preach the continental doctrines. Many of the most zealous had left the country, while others remained dumb. The educational system had collapsed, and in twenty-five years a generation of Welshmen had sprung up who were illiterate and ignorant. In St. Davids the vicars choral openly rebelled. In a letter addressed to the Privy Council in 1569, the bishop complains that there were "a great number of people cold and slack in the true service of God. Some are careless for any religion, and some that wish the Romish religion again." The priests could not be kept in order, because the sheriff was unwilling to take action. He begs for a commission having authority to imprison and deprive incorrigible priests, to punish pilgrimages to wells and watchings in chapels and desert places.[1] He complains of appropriations and lack of spiritual means. Many churches which had been

[1] *Landmarks in the History of the Welsh Church*, 100.—Archbishop of Wales.

served from the monasteries were now left without services, because impropriators would not allow a competent stipend. During these years the bishop was busily engaged with the first translation into Welsh of the New Testament, with the co-operation of William Salesbury and Thomas Huet, the precentor of St. Davids. This work was completed in 1567. The greater part of the translation was the work of Salesbury. Unfortunately he introduced so many strange and difficult words that the translation could never become popular. The reading of the second lesson in Welsh must have been painful to the reader, and still more painful to the listeners. Bishop Davies was actively employed at the same time with a translation into English of the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and probably the two books of Samuel, for the Bishop's Bible of 1568. This eminent reformer died in 1581. The first Welsh translation of the Prayer Book was chiefly his work, and in a few years the reformed Church began to make much progress. Schools were founded at Carmarthen, Haverfordwest, Margam, Llandaff, St Asaph, Ruthin, Montgomery, Presteign, Bangor, Bottwnog, and other centres. There was a remarkable revival after the dark period of the dissolution of the monasteries. Humphrey Llwyd, an eminent scholar and antiquary, testified in 1568: "No Welshman is so poor but for some space he setteth forth his children to school, and such as profit in study, sendeth them unto the universities, where, for the most part, they enforce them to study the civil law. Whereby it chanceth, that the greater sort of those which profess the Civil or Canon laws in this realm are Welshmen. And you shall find but few of the ruder sort which cannot read

and write their own name, and play on the harp after their manner."[1]

There were several young Welshmen of great ability at the universities at this time. Three of them were contemporaries at St. John's College, Cambridge. These three were Edmund Prys, William Morgan, and Richard Vaughan. Hugh Bellot, afterwards bishop of Bangor, was probably a fourth. Prys and Morgan belonged to the same locality in North Wales, and subsequent events show that they were on intimate terms. They matriculated during 1565. Richard Vaughan was a native of Carnarvonshire, and apparently a few years younger than Prys and Morgan. He became bishop of Bangor, then he was translated to Chester, and finally to London. When these young men entered Cambridge, the university was torn by rival factions. There were many who devoutly desired the restoration of Roman Catholicism, but who conformed outwardly, while some of the returned exiles advocated a clean sweep of the old rites and ceremonies and the establishment of Presbyterianism. There were many sturdy Anglicans as well, and their strength was steadily growing. Richard Cox, the fearless defender of the Prayer Book at Frankfort and Zurich, had now become the bishop of Ely, and John Whitgift, his chaplain since 1560, was master of Trinity College and professor of Divinity. In 1569 Bishop Cox held a visitation of St. John's College, and Richard Longeworth was deprived of the mastership. He was succeeded by Nicholas Shepherd, who held the Mastership during the years 1569–74. John Still was then appointed, and remained in office

[1] *The Breviary of Britayne*, 1573, fol. 60–61.

until he became master of Trinity in 1577.[1] Prys and Morgan were connected with St. John's College during part of the time these three held the mastership. Thomas Cartwright, the leader of the Puritans, was Lady Margaret professor and fellow of Trinity. He was deprived of his fellowship in 1571. Walter Travers was busily writing his well-known *Discipline* for a Puritan church, which was published in 1574. Such was the atmosphere at Cambridge when Bishop William Morgan, the translator of the Bible into Welsh, and his friends Prys and Vaughan, spent several years at the university. From the Diocesan Register of Ely we learn that Prys was ordained deacon by Bishop Cox on Palm Sunday, 1567, at Conington Church, Cambridgeshire. He was ordained while still an undergraduate. Early in 1568 he took his degree, and was admitted to the priesthood in the same year by Cox at Ely Cathedral. His friend, William Morgan, was ordained deacon at the same time. In 1570, Prys was elected to a fellowship at St. John's College, and appointed preacher in 1574. During this interval he had received his first Welsh preferment to Maentwrog with Festiniog, in his native county of Merioneth. He does not seem to have resided in his parish during the first three or four years, for he was preferred to the rectory of Ludlow in 1576, where he resided for some time.

The president of the Court of the Marches was Sir Henry Sidney, but he was away in Ireland during 1577–80, and the court was presided over in his absence by John Whitgift, now bishop of Worcester. It is a significant fact that another Welshman, David Powel, became chaplain to the Court of the Marches about this

[1] *History of the University of Cambridge.*—J. B. Mullinger.

time. Powel was an Oxford man, and the editor of the *History of Cambria,* which he published in 1584. He also rendered some service to Morgan while engaged in the task of translating the Bible. Prys returned to Wales on being appointed archdeacon of Merioneth. This appointment included a canonry at Bangor as well as the emoluments of Llandudno as rector. Nicholas Robinson, a native of Carnarvonshire, and undoubtedly a Welsh-speaking bishop, had reported a few years before to Archbishop Parker, that there were only two preachers in his diocese. The reformed Church with its English Bible and Prayer Book had as yet made no headway in Wales. We can easily believe that Edmund Prys was one of the first priests of the reformed Church to preach in his native tongue to the people of Merioneth, and he soon acquired a reputation for eloquent preaching. William Morgan returned to Wales as vicar of Welshpool, from there he removed to the country vicarage of Llanrhaiadr in Mochnant.

The Church in Wales is exceedingly indebted to these two men. For ten years Morgan devoted himself to the stupendous task of translating the Bible from the original languages. This great task was accomplished in 1588, and the whole of the Bible was printed for the first time in Welsh. It was vastly superior in diction and style to the New Testament of Bishop Davies and William Salesbury, which was published in 1567. Morgan acknowledges his indebtedness to John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, who bore the cost of printing ; to the bishops of St. Asaph and Bangor ; to David Powel, Gabriel Goodman, Edmund Prys, and Richard Vaughan. Gabriel Goodman, a native of Ruthin, was dean of Westminster, and Morgan stayed at his house

at Westminster while revising the proofs. David Powel, already mentioned, was a learned divine and antiquary. He became vicar of Ruabon and Meifod, and held a canonry at St. Asaph. Edmund Prys, not even excepting Morgan, was the most accomplished Welsh scholar of the group. He was conversant with all the intricate rules of Welsh poetry, and remains one of the greatest poets in Welsh literature. He had an amazing command of the Welsh language, and was a Hebrew scholar of great distinction. To what extent the fine flow of language of the Welsh Bible, with its rhythmic periods, is due to Prys, is not known. There is no evidence that Morgan was a poet. He was nevertheless a master of the language, a stylist, and an excellent Hebrew scholar. His translation became the canon of Welsh prose. Its excellence is established by the fact that its renderings, where they differ essentially from the Authorised English Bible of 1611, are fully supported by the Revised Version of 1885. Morgan became bishop of Llandaff in 1595. In his time the Cathedral Church had been plundered of all its possessions. It was a roofless building,[1] and the revenues left unto the Church were totally inadequate. He was translated to St. Asaph in 1601. Prys died vicar of Maentwrog and archdeacon of Merioneth. The only recognition he received after his early appointments by the crown was a canonry at St. Asaph by his old friend, Bishop Morgan, but his memory will not fade so long as the psalms are sung in Welsh. His metrical version of the psalms, with tunes, published with the Prayer Book in 1621, was the first printed book of Welsh hymns. In its purpose it was similar to

[1] *Llandaff Cathedral*, 27.—J. H. James.

Sternhold and Hopkins' version, but in its literary merit it was incomparably superior. It was the work of a true poet and a fine scholar, who had studied the Hebrew original very closely. No attempt had been made to write Welsh poetry in a free metre up to his time. The bardic rules were stringent and elaborate, and Prys, who was a finished writer in the well-known metres, found it difficult to break away entirely from them. He made a praiseworthy attempt, and selected an easy metre for most of the psalms. It is the metre in which Sir H. W. Baker wrote his well-known hymn, "The King of love my Shepherd is." The metrical version of the psalms had far-reaching results. The hymns were taken up with avidity, and sung in churches by the whole congregation. They endeared the reformed Church to the Welsh people, and popery receded into the back ground. Prys' psalms was the hymn book of the Church in Wales for well over two hundred years.

A contemporary of Morgan and Prys was Henry Rowlands, consecrated bishop of Bangor in 1598. During his episcopate the reformed Church made immense progress, and the number of Ordination Services held by him is most significant. The registers supply the names of the laymen who gave a title to those ordained, and who guaranteed their stipends. They include the names of the chief families in the diocese. These newly ordained clergy acted as chaplains and tutors to those who gave them a title.[1] This was the system adopted in other dioceses, and it explains why education was so advanced in Wales during the first half of the seventeenth

[1] *The Diocese of Bangor in the Sixteenth Century.*—A. Ivor Pryce.

century. It is also interesting to notice that the largest number of the ordinands came from Christ Church, Oriel, and Hart Hall, Oxford. The reason appears to be that there was a close connection between Christ Church and Westminster School, which drew a considerable number of pupils from Wales. Oriel had a Welshman as provost in 1617, and there were Welshmen among the fellows. Jesus College had only recently been founded. In addition to the tutorial chaplaincies during the latter half of the sixteenth century, Grammar Schools were founded in all the chief towns of Wales. Bishop Rowlands, as a pastor and benefactor, stands foremost. Born in Carnarvonshire, he received his early education at a country school, from whence he entered St. Mary's Hall, Oxford. He afterwards moved to New College, of which he became chaplain. He became in turn archdeacon of Anglesey, dean of Bangor, and bishop of Bangor. The memory of this remarkable man is cherished to-day as the founder of a Grammar School at Bottwnog, scholarships at Oxford, and an almshouse at Bangor.[1] One curious instance of how some of the clergy received their university education is revealed by his history. While a deacon he was appointed to the benefice of Meillteyrn with Bottwnog by that determined reformer, Nicholas Robinson. He then proceeded to Oxford, retaining his benefice. This practice led to the system of non-residence. Another practice had sprung up, probably on account of the poverty of the parishes and the difficulty of collecting the tithes and rents, of appointing lay lawyers to the benefices. Perhaps the most

[1] *Esgob Henry Rowlands.*—Ven. John Morgan.

notorious of these were John Gwyn, Thomas Yale, and Ellis Price. In his preface to the New Testament of 1567, Bishop Richard Davies wrote that "Often in Wales, the hall of the gentleman is found to be the refuge of thieves. Were it not for the gentry there would be but little theft in Wales." Alas! from the ranks of the anglicized gentry, basking on monastic spoils, were drawn the Tudor justices of the peace, who were not allowed by a law of Henry VIII. to transact any business in Welsh.

The Elizabethan age witnessed a wonderful revival of literature in Wales no less than in England. The bards succeeded in getting from the queen an order for holding an eisteddfod. A commission was entrusted to members of well-known families, and the eisteddfod was held at Caerwys in 1567. The bards were tested in the twenty-four metres. These metres are very elaborate and difficult, and the uneducated had no chance to become qualified. Musical degrees were also given for proficiency on the harp and the *crwth*. The best known of the sixteenth century poets, all closely connected with the Church, are William Llŷn, Simwnt Vychan, William Cynwal, Sion Tudur, and Sion Phylip. The greatest of them all, Edmund Prys, spurned bardic titles, and stood for reform and classical learning.[1] William Llŷn was probably the first of the Reformation poets. William Cynwal was opposed to the religious changes. Sion Tudur was a scholar and a dignitary of St. Asaph Cathedral. Simwnt Vychan is best known as the author of a Welsh Grammar.

In addition to these a new school of Welsh prose

[1] *Llenyddiaeth Cymru*, 94.—W. J. Gruffydd.

writers sprang up. The author of the first printed book in Welsh was Sir John Price, an antiquary and civil servant. It appeared in 1546, and contained the Alphabet, the Creed, a Calendar, the Ave Maria, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Seven Virtues. William Salesbury, a very industrious layman, was the author of several books, including a Welsh-English Dictionary. Maurice Kyffin published a translation in excellent Welsh of Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* in 1593. He was a native of Oswestry and a civil servant. Henry Parry was a clergyman, and he published in 1595 a Welsh treatise on Rhetoric and Logic. Huw Lewys, chancellor of Bangor, published *Perl mewn Adfyd*, a devotional work, in 1595. Humphrey Llwyd was a noted antiquary and physician. He wrote several works, the chief of which, based on an earlier work, is his *Historie of Cambria*. Edward James, a native of South Wales, and a graduate of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, became vicar of Cadoxton-juxta-Neath and chancellor of Llandaff. His translation of the *Book of Homilies*, which appeared in 1606, is a Welsh classic.

When these good men were busy in their respective spheres, and when William Morgan and his coadjutors were busy with the work of translating the Bible, another Welshman had joined the extreme wing of a party in England, which aimed at nothing less than the downfall of the Elizabethan settlement of the reformed Church, and the establishment of the system which was tried during the Commonwealth, fifty years later. The evils he described in his tracts were the inevitable concomitants of a time of transition, when the queen and her advisers were more intent upon steering a middle course between two extreme parties than upon a

"preaching ministry." The name of this indomitable young man was John Penry. In modern Nonconformist literature his name looms large. He is described as the "seraphic John Penry,"[1] "the martyred John Penry,"[2] and we are calmly told that "the emissaries of the bishops, like ravenous beasts, hunted him everywhere,"[3] and that his connection with the *Martin Marprelate Tracts* "is perfectly unfounded"—"not the least shadow of proof that he was in any way connected with them."[4] Even men of great note as scholars[5] have supported the view that Penry was a martyr, and that he suffered on account of his enlightened opinions; and the children of the schools in Wales are still taught to venerate his saintly memory. English historians[6] dismiss him summarily with very brief notices. Church historians have no patience with him, and describe him as "a turbulent and unstable visionary."[7] A critical and unprejudiced re-examination of the facts has become a necessity. Born about 1559,[8] Penry spent his childhood in the hills of Breconshire, and must have been brought up in the pre-Reformation faith or in no faith at all. The district was essentially Welsh, and services in Welsh were not conducted in the churches during his early years, because it was impossible, for Salesbury's Testament and the Welsh Prayer Book were not printed until 1567. Where or by whom he received his early education is not known. That he was

[1] *Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, 14.—Thomas Rees.
[2] *Ibid*, 20. [3] *Ibid*, 23. [4] *Ibid*, 24.
[5] Sir Owen M. Edwards, Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford.
[6] Hallam, Bright, Wakeman.
[7] *Landmarks of the Church in Wales*, 108.—Edwards.
[8] It is not definitely known where he was born. Vague tradition points to Cefnbrith, in the parish of Llangammarch.

educated at Brecon Grammar School, founded in 1541, is a conjecture unsupported by any evidence stronger than the fact that two-thirds of the tithes of the parish of Llangammarch formed a part of the original endowment of the school. There is no evidence, as far as we can see, that " his father was a well-to-do squire,"[1] but that he had some patron who enabled him to go to Cambridge seems highly probable. When about twenty years of age he entered Peterhouse, not as a sizar but as a commoner. His name first appears on the college books in June, 1580. Andrew Perne, a friend of Whitgift, was the master. It is also interesting to notice that Robert Some was a fellow and tutor of this college. He became master in 1588. Some was a man of moderate views, but not in favour with the extreme Puritans. As the author of " Godly Treatise," he is attacked by Penry, who wrote a reply with the title, " M. Some laid open in his Coulers." During the greater part of 1585 Penry was not at Cambridge. It is not improbable that a part of this time was spent in Wales, for he testifies that his first tract, called "Aequity of an humble Supplication," printed in 1587, was written " in an obscure corner of South Wales." He had by this time become a Puritan, and had formed an acquaintance with Sir Richard Knightley and Job Throkmorton. What made him migrate from Cambridge to St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, is not clear. Possibly the ecclesiastical outlook was such as to encourage him.[2] His public life began in 1587 with the publication of the *Aequity*. The pastors are described mostly as

[1] *John Penry, his Life, Times, and Writings* (1924).—William Pierce.

[2] *Ibid*, 78.

"dumbe or greedy dogs." All that stood between the people and atheism were "Latin prayers, prayers to saints, and superstitious observances."[1] The "belief in fairies, purgatory, and blasphemous prayers" was general. The Romanists were "obstinate idolaters whose activities are uncontrolled by either magistrate or bishop." There were "Welsh books in circulation full of idolatries." He quotes some Welsh sayings, which prove his acquaintance with the language. In 1588, he published "An Exhortation unto the Governors and People of Wales." The main charge is directed against the bishops for not providing thorough going Puritan preachers. Instead of godly and learned ministers there were "abbey lubbers," "thieves and murderers of souls," "proud and more than pope-like tyrants," "blind guides," "foxes and wolves," "mire and puddle," "the very ignominy and reproach of the sacred ministry." The bishops were "withstanders of reformation," and "their office unwarranted." Penry knew very little about N. Wales, and he certainly did not know what was going on. He failed completely to grasp the situation. The bishops were extremely poor since the dissolution, and had to hold benefices *in commendam* in order to eke out a living. The clergy received very small stipends from the impropriators, and were miserably poor. The vast majority of the people in Penry's time disliked the Reformation changes, but a far greater Welshman than he was toiling in a country parsonage to give them the Bible in their language. Penry wrote nothing in Welsh, and there is no evidence that he ever preached in Wales. In a letter he wrote to Lord Burleigh a few days before his execution, he

[1] *Aequity*, 48.

says: "I am a poor young man, born and bred in the mountains of Wales. I am the first, since the last springing up of the Gospel in this latter age, that laboured to have the blessed seed thereof sown in those barren mountains." He refers to his writings and not to his preaching in these words. He spent the whole of his life, almost from early manhood, in various parts of England and Scotland. The first of the tracts bearing the pseudonym *Martin Marprelate* appeared towards the end of 1588, and it was printed by Waldegrave, who had already printed Penry's "Exhortation." We find that Penry and Waldegrave had a secret press at East Molesey, near Kingston on Thames.[1] Indeed, it was Penry who brought to Waldegrave the first Marprelate tract, known as *The Epistle*.[2] He was secretly supported by Sir Richard Knightly of Fawsley. The secret press was moved to Fawsley, and Northampton became Penry's headquarters. He had married a daughter of Henry Godley of that town in 1588. It is admitted that Penry was the editor and press corrector of the tracts. From Fawsley the press was moved to Coventry, and Waldegrave gave up his post as printer. Having convinced himself that his safety lay in flight, he withdrew to the Huguenot city of Rochelle.

Job Throkmorton, master of Hasely Manor, a few miles from Warwick, now appears on the scene. He had much to do with the production of the tracts. While the press was being moved from Coventry to Warrington an accident occurred, and the press, with

[1] *Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*, 154. William Pierce. In this volume Penry's connection with the Tracts is clearly shown and freely admitted, and the author attempts to justify his conduct.

[2] *Ibid*, 155.

the printers, was captured. Throkmorton and Penry, however, combined to write another tract, called "The Protestatyon of Martin Marprelat."[1] In the preface, the prelates and clergy are called "popish and tyrannical Rabbis," "incarnate divels," and "a hellish rabble." Penry succeeded in making his way to Scotland, and set up another printing press in Edinburgh. He was banished from Scotland in 1590, and made his way to London, where he joined the Brownists. The end came with his arrest in 1593. He was accused of treason before three judges and a jury, and found guilty. He was sentenced to die the death of a traitor. It is difficult to see, when we consider these facts, how he can be raised to the dignity of a martyr. His close personal connection with the production of the atrocious tracts is not in question.[2] If Penry was not Martin, he knew perfectly well the secret of his identity. It was a mournful ending to a promising life. There is nothing to show that Penry was a profane person at heart. He was probably deeply religious, but he was used as a tool by men of extreme views, and being poor he had to rely on their support for his means of living. It is difficult to see what Christian principles a man like Throkmorton could have had. He was a young man of wit and wealth, and probably the predominant partner of the Marprelate brotherhood, but his high connections and petition to Burleigh saved him from any punishment. Penry was poor, insignificant, and a stranger, and he was sacrificed.[3]

[1] *Ibid*, 193. [2] *Ibid*, 284.

[3] The testimony of George Owen of Henllys, lord of Kemes, in the county of Pembroke, author of *The Description of Pembrokeshire* and *Description of Milford Haven*, a contemporary of Penry, is of some value. He refers to Penry as "that

The Welsh bishops of Elizabeth's reign were in no sense idle, inferior, or indifferent men. Bangor has good reason to be proud of Hugh Bellot, Richard Vaughan, Henry Rowlands, and Lewis Bayly. William Morgan's successor at Llandaff in 1601 was Francis Godwin, a distinguished ecclesiastic, and the learned author of the *Catalogue of Bishops*. At Mathern, where he resided, he erected a monument over the remains of Theodorick, king of Glamorgan, who was supposed to be buried at Mathern. Anthony Rudd, bishop of St. Davids from 1594 until his death in 1614, was a most excellent preacher,[1] and at one time a great favourite of Queen Elizabeth. She fully intended him to succeed Whitgift at Canterbury, but a sermon of his, which touched on the infirmities of old age, so highly displeased the queen that he lost his chance of succession to Canterbury. He retained the repute of a reverend and godly prelate to the end of his life, and he won the affections of the Welsh people by his wisdom and piety. By "moderate thrift and long staying in the same see," he left to his descendants a fair estate at Aberglasney in Carmarthenshire. William Hughes, Morgan's predecessor at St. Asaph, was a man of high character and beneficent spirit. The bishopric was then worth £187 a year, and it became necessary for the bishop to hold several "livings" at the same time, in order to obtain from the whole combined an adequate income. Out of this combined amount—less than £500 a year—Hughes left money for the endowment of the

shameless mann that of late yeares, to the sclaunder of all Wales, hath not stickt to put furth in Prynte that all Wales had not soe many Preachers of Goddes worde, as I have reckoned to bee founde in this Poore and little contrie of Pembrokesheere."

[1] Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, ed. J. Nichols, III., 292.

Grammar School at St. Asaph, and he assisted Morgan materially in various ways in the production of his Welsh Bible. Bishop Morgan himself held two vicarages and three rectories, but even his enemy, Sir John Wynn, had to admit that "he died a poor man."[1]

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[1] *History of the Gwydir Family.*

CHAPTER VI.

Growth and Depression.

I.

WHEN Elizabeth ascended the throne two parties expected much from her, the extreme Puritans and the Roman Catholics, and both were disappointed. The Puritans were advocating the continental system of Church reform and "a preaching ministry," while the queen and her ecclesiastical advisers had to employ all their wisdom and might to prevent the papal faction, strongly supported by Spain, from gaining the upper hand. The fear of Rome continued unabated until Mary Stuart met her doom, and the Spanish Armada was scattered and destroyed. When the prospect of any immediate restoration of papal rule perished, the reformers breathed more freely, and began to defend the Anglican Church system with great pulpit eloquence and literary skill. Foremost among these able men were Whitgift, Bancroft, Hooker, and Andrewes. Both parties expected much from James I. Was he not a Presbyterian and a Calvinist, well read in the fathers and in the theology of the reformers? The papal party expected much from him as the son of the ill-fated Mary, and he had always professed a horror of persecution, and he was credited with having entered into negotiations with the pope. James promptly replied to the Puritans, "No bishop, no king." There were no Puritans in Wales,

but there were many Roman Catholics, who expected protection from the new king. They were doomed to disappointment, and the Gunpowder Plot sealed their fate. The Parliament was immediately roused to action, and an Act was passed, making it a capital offence to be perverted to the Church of Rome. James, however, was a mild man, and while striving for an alliance with Spain, he had no desire to treat the recusants with harshness. His reign witnessed the rise of a school of learned divines in the English Church, and the Church in Wales was immensely influenced by distinguished clergy and writers of the school of Hooker and Laud.

In the reign of James the four Welsh bishoprics were held by great men—Richard Parry at St. Asaph, Lewis Bayly at Bangor, Theophilus Field at Llandaff, and William Laud at St. Davids. Field succeeded Laud at St. Davids in 1627, and was again translated to Hereford in 1635. Parry was born at Ruthin in 1560, and received his education at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford. He became vicar of Gresford and chancellor of Bangor, and later dean of Bangor. In 1604, he succeeded the translator of the Welsh Bible at St. Asaph, and in 1620, with the help of able coadjutors, he brought out a revised version of the Bible, introducing many minor changes, and this is the version which is still in use. Lewis Bayly was a native of Carmarthen, and educated at Exeter College, Oxford. He became a celebrated preacher, and attracted the attention of James I., who made him his chaplain, and afterwards a canon of St. Paul's Cathedral. In 1616 he was raised to the see of Bangor. He was a careful pastor, and the author of *The Practice of Piety*, the most widely-read devotional book of the age.

During the latter part of the reign of King James no ecclesiastic was better known that John Williams, bishop of Lincoln. Williams was born at Aberconway in 1582, and educated at Ruthin and St. John's College, Cambridge. When he entered Cambridge his knowledge of English was very imperfect,[1] but he was a man of great natural abilities, and also a great student. He was elected a fellow of his college, and became chaplain to Lord Chancellor Egerton. In 1619 he became chaplain to the king, and dean of Salisbury. In the following year he became dean of Westminster, and then lord keeper of the great seal and bishop of Lincoln. He attended King James on his death bed, and preached the funeral sermon. It is not known what influence he wielded in behalf of the Church in Wales, but the fact remains that Welshmen were appointed to the bishoprics during these years. At the accession of Charles, Williams was already under a cloud, having fallen out with Buckingham. The new king would not have him, as dean of Westminster, to take any part in his coronation. The cause of the quarrel is " confidently " given by Fuller :—The archbishopric of Armagh had fallen vacant, and Williams moved Buckingham in behalf of Theodore Price,[2] a Welshman. The duke replied that the king had already promised the archbishopric to James Usher. Williams still endeavoured by his own interest to get Price appointed. Buckingham showed his displeasure openly, and determined to ruin Williams. The king demanded the great seal from him, and Williams retired to Bugden in Huntingdonshire for ten years to criticise at his table the new government. In

[1] Hacket's *Memoir of John Williams.*

[2] This Price died a professed Roman Catholic.

1637 he was censured in the Star Chamber nominally "for tampering to suborn witnesses," fined £10,000, suspended from his office, and sentenced to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. He remained in the Tower for four years. In 1640 he was fetched out, and restored a peer in Parliament. It was then that he brought forward a Bill to regulate bishops and their jurisdiction. He strove hard to save episcopacy by formulating a scheme, which provided that (*a*) a bishop's jurisdiction be limited by the appointment of an advisory committee of twelve, and that (*b*) episcopal vacancies be filled not by king and chapter alone, but with the added advice of these new coadjutors, who were to present to the king three names of divines, one of whom was to be chosen bishop. The Bill was read once in the House of Lords, and caused no great stir. The anti-episcopal party had already made up their minds to extirpate episcopacy. His next move was the "petition" of the twelve bishops, who were "menaced, affronted, and assaulted," in their coming to discharge their duties in Parliament. The bishops of St. Asaph and Llandaff signed the petition. Williams was now archbishop of York. For their trouble the archbishop and bishops were imprisoned in the tower for eighteen weeks. After his release the archbishop stayed some time at Westminster, then he went to Huntingdonshire, and afterwards to his palace at Cawood, near York. King James had settled upon him the deanery of Westminster, under the great seal, so long as he should continue bishop of Lincoln. Now that he was archbishop of York, King Charles shewed his favour unto him by confirming his deanery for another three years, in lieu of the profits of the archbishopric

which the king had taken. Williams withdrew to North Wales to serve the king in his native land, where he had great influence. But he found that circumstances had altered his status greatly, and his orders were not accepted by the military men of the buff coats. All his words and deeds were represented to the king at Oxford to his disadvantage. At last some great affronts were put upon him, and he was put out of commission. He felt much aggrieved because he had spared neither care nor cost in advancing the royal cause. His next action was so inconsistent with his loyalty to the king that his most ardent apologists find it difficult to explain or excuse. He sought the favour of Parliament, and obtained it. He laid siege to the town and castle of Aberconway in the name of Parliament, till he had reduced them. His great quarrel with the Royalists was that the king had given his word to his friends in the Conway district to protect their valuables at Conway Castle, but Charles took away from the archbishop the control of the castle, and the valuables were no longer safe.

Williams died in 1649, and was buried at Llandegai, amid the scenes of his childhood and last activities. He belonged to the old school of reformers. His antipathy to Laud led him to distrust the high church party, and his devotion to the English liturgy kept him far apart from the Puritan party. "Envy itself cannot deny, but that, whithersoever he went, he might be traced by the footsteps of his benefaction. Much he expended on the repair of Westminster Church. The library of Westminster was the effect of his bounty, and so was the chapel in Lincoln College, Oxford, having no other relation thereunto than

as a namesake of his bishopric. At St. John's in Cambridge he founded two fellowships, built a fair library, and furnished it with books, intending more, had his bounty then met with proportionable entertainment. But benefactors may give money, but not grateful minds, to such as receive it."[1] Fuller, his contemporary and acquaintance, tells us that "He was of a proper person, comely countenance, and amiable complexion, having a stately garb and gait by nature, which made him mistaken prouder than he was. His head was a well-filled treasury, and his tongue the fair key to unlock it. He had as great a memory as could be reconciled with so good a judgment; so quick his parts, that his extempore performances equalised the premeditations of others of his profession. He was very open, and too free in discourse, disdaining to lie at a close guard, so confident of the length and strength of his weapon."

Williams devoted his whole life to English affairs, and having joined the party opposed to Laud, strove to exercise a moderating influence on their policy, but the extreme men paid no heed to his counsels. When he withdrew to Wales, distrusted by both parties, the opportunity for serving the impoverished Church of his fathers had been irreparably lost.

The influence of Laud, on the other hand, was distinctly felt in Wales, and very much to the advantage of the Church, during the first half of the seventeenth century. He was appointed to St. Davids in 1621, which was regarded as a very remote diocese and unimportant, but Laud took a very serious view of his

[1] Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, III., 550.

episcopal duties. He visited the diocese, found the cathedral in a dilapidated state, and the bishop's palace in ruins. The episcopal residence was near Carmarthen, and Laud added to it a beautiful private chapel, upon which he spared no expense. He preached at Brecon and Carmarthen to the judges, and collected much information concerning the state of things in Wales. His views with regard to rites and ceremonies suited the Welsh people thoroughly, and had he remained longer in the diocese he would have become exceedingly popular, a truly great Welsh bishop. Fifty years before his time, Queen Elizabeth and her advisers had fully recognized that the only way to convert the people of Wales from popery was by means of native bishops and pastors, and an Act was passed, ordering a translation of the Bible and Prayer Book into Welsh, and Welshmen were invariably raised to the bishoprics—William Hughes to St. Asaph, Richard Vaughan to Bangor, Marmaduke Middleton to St. Davids, and William Morgan to Llandaff. Laud followed the same policy. He fully recognized the importance of the Welsh language, and raised Welshmen to the highest offices. Rhys Prichard of Llandovery was a popular preacher, and a Welsh poet of much repute. Laud made him canon, and later chancellor of St. Davids Cathedral. He pursued the same policy after he became primate and chief adviser to the king, and John Owen was appointed to St. Asaph, William Roberts to Bangor, Roger Mainwaring to St. Davids, and Morgan Owen to Llandaff.

From the Puritan point of view the standard of religion and morality in Wales was certainly not high throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, but we must bear in mind that the people were living

as in pre-Reformation days. The Welsh farmers and rustics clung to their old customs and observances. They were by no means strict sabbatarians, and they played their games as before. They did not abhor relics, and carried their beads about with them to Church. At funerals they stubbornly clung to the old traditions and customs, and addressed the Blessed Virgin and saints in prayer. The holy shrines had been destroyed, but the holy wells remained, and were the centres of pilgrimages. Many a "Heol Fair" and "Ffynnon Fair" still remain in Wales. Bishop John Owen of St. Asaph, in his report to Laud in 1633, refers to the number and boldness of Romish recusants, and the frequent pilgrimages to St. Winifred's Well at Holywell, but he significantly adds that they were not anywhere "troubled with inconformity."[1]

Rhys Prichard, vicar of Llandovery, and a friend of Laud, wrote short poems in Welsh, in which he refers again and again to the religious laxity of the times, but it is not certain that the poems have been preserved exactly as written by Prichard himself. The Puritans were extremely eager to claim him as a strong supporter of their views, and the poems were collected, edited, and published many years after his death, during the protectorate, by Henry Maurice and Stephen Hughes, both well-known Puritans and Nonconformists. There is ample evidence that the Welsh clergy, before the Civil War put everything out of joint, were well educated. A surprising number of Welsh books were printed, and this fact is a sufficient evidence that the people were not ignorant and illiterate. The books were produced by the clergy, and this fact proves that the

[1] Lambeth *MSS.*

clergy were not incompetent, idle, and apathetic. "In the course of the seventeenth century Wales supplied 18 bishops to its own sees, 4 to English sees, 4 to Irish sees, and 1 to Sodor and Man."[1] And yet a modern Nonconformist historian states quite calmly: "It seems that the vicar of Llandovery was the only pious and efficient minister in the principality during the reigns of King James I. and Charles I."[2] The statement is outrageously absurd. He ignores Edmund Prys, Lewis Bayly, Richard Parry, Robert Llwyd, John Davies, George Griffith, and many others! Here is another example of the way in which the history of religion in Wales was written in the nineteenth century. Referring to the prosecutions of Quakers in the diocese of St. Davids and elsewhere, the same writer makes use of these words: "Hundreds of the Welsh clergy of that age could not refer to a single *soul* that they had been the means of converting from the error of his way; but many could refer to *bodies incarcerated*, and families ruined by them for non-payment of Church rates, tithes, and other strange claims."[3] The writer does not seem to have understood that the chief persecutors of the Quakers were the "ministers" of the protectorate.

Prichard has been described as the Puritan bard of Wales, but there is no trustworthy evidence that he was a Puritan at all. His zeal for the Church attracted, as we have seen, the favour of Laud, and he took a leading part in raising funds for the king during the first years of the war. The authenticity of some of the poems attributed to Prichard is more than doubtful.

[1] *Diocesan History of St. Davids*, 191.—W. L. Bevan.
[2] *Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, 32.—Thomas Rees, D.D.
[3] *Ibid*, 281.

The first and second parts appeared during the protectorate, many years after Prichard's death, with a preface by Henry Maurice, a well-known Puritan, and afterwards an Independent minister. A complete edition appeared in 1672, with a preface, dated March 20, 1671, by Stephen Hughes, a Nonconformist. In the preface we find the statement, "There are here only incomplete fragments collected from old papers, imperfect, and very difficult to read;" and the writer refers to the loss of the vicar's chief book of poems in manuscript, probably in Breconshire, during the Civil War. Stephen Hughes introduces the work with a poem of his own, called "Advice to the Book," and in this he tells the story quite clearly. We are told that there were two master minds in the preparation of the poems. Prichard was the "old master," and Hughes himself the "new master." The old master was a true conformist, who faithfully clung to the observance of holy days, forms of prayer, sponsors in baptism, and who maintained that the churches were the temples of God. But the new master, who had arranged the work, was called a "fanatic," though he held the doctrines of the assembly, without seriously objecting to the tenets of the Church of England, while resenting her discipline. Then he makes the damaging admission that the poems sent forth in Prichard's name will be permitted to proclaim truths which, if others preached, would cause stones to be hurled at their heads. He also charges the clergy with gross negligence, blindness, and covetousness. The poems are sent forth on their mission with the strong hope that the "two masters" will be pleased by the warmth of their reception. A close examination of the poems reveals clearly the hand of the Puritan

interpolator. In the "Prayer of the Soldier," Prichard's own sentiments as a loyal subject of the king are plainly set forth, and the same may be said of the "Christmas Hymn," and the poem, "On going to Church" to receive pardon, grace, and absolution. The excellent poem on "The Catechism" is undoubtedly Prichard's work, but the poems on the "Great Plague" of London could not have been written by him, because he died twenty-one years before that dire calamity. The poem on the "Duties of Ministers" is very doubtful, and those on "Purgatory," "The Sabbath," and "Prayers for the Dead," are extremely questionable in their present form. "Christ above all" is a long poem, which leaves a strong suspicion of being the work of the "second master" or editor. For these causes Prichard has been wrongly charged with leanings towards Puritanism by modern writers.[1] He has been described as "a pronounced Puritan," who "held most incongruous views on Church polity."[2] This is said of the friend of Rudd and Laud, who appointed the pronounced Laudians, Morgan Owen, bishop of Llandaff, and Roger Mainwaring, bishop of St. Davids, to be the executors of his will. Bishop Mainwaring's son, Thomas Mainwaring, married the vicar's grand-daughter and heiress. Roger Mainwaring was well known in Stuart times as a strong supporter of the royal prerogative in Church and State. In 1627, when he was vicar of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, he preached before the king two sermons, in which he strongly asserted the royal prerogative and the duty of subjects to pay taxes demanded by the king. The sermons were published,

[1] *The English Church* (1625—1714), 352.—W. H. Hutton.
[2] *The Church in Wales*, 38.—H. M. Vaughan.

and were fiercely resented. They were attacked in the House of Commons, and Pym impeached Mainwaring before the Lords. He was condemned to a fine of £1000, to imprisonment during the pleasure of the House, to be suspended from preaching for three years, to be disabled from preaching at the Court for ever, and from holding any ecclesiastical position.[1] He humbly submitted and endured a short imprisonment. Notwithstanding these censures, Charles presented him to the living of Stanford Rivers. In 1633 he was preferred to the deanery of Worcester, and in 1635 to the bishopric of St. Davids.

Stephen Hughes was a native of Carmarthen. Of his early life very little is known, but he became one of the ministers of the protectorate at Merthyr, and later at Mydrim, both in Carmarthenshire. He was not episcopally ordained, and was deprived of Mydrim through his refusal to submit to the Act of Uniformity. He continued to itinerate until his death in 1688, and did more than any of his contemporaries to plant dissent in South Wales. Many of the meeting houses he founded have continued to this day. Apart from his labours as a preacher, he was the editor of a considerable number of religious books, such as *The Whole Duty of Man*, to which he added a new Puritan treatise, *The Practice of Piety*, Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, *The Book of Resolution*, with a new treatise on "relying upon Christ alone for salvation," and an edition of the Bible in 1677. The cost of publishing was met by Thomas Gouge and the "Welsh Trust." Gouge was vicar of St. Sepulchre, London, until 1662, when he refused to submit to the

[1] Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, III., 395.

Act of Uniformity. About 1671 he devoted his life to the spread of education and religious knowledge in Wales. In this work he was ably assisted by Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Baxter, William Thomas (afterwards bishop of St. Davids), and others. He enlisted the help of Welshmen, notably Stephen Hughes, Charles Edwards, and James Owen of Oswestry. Tillotson, in his funeral sermon for Gouge, who died in 1681, has given an account of those who supported him in his labours. He obtained large and bountiful contributions "from charitable persons of all ranks and conditions, from the nobility and gentry of Wales and the neighbouring counties, and several of that quality in and about London, from divers of the Right Reverend Bishops and of the clergy, and from that perpetual fountain of charity, the city of London." The funds at his disposal were employed to found schools and publish religious books. "There were every year eight hundred, sometimes a thousand, poor children educated." "He procured a new and very fair impression of the Bible and liturgy of the Church of England in the Welsh tongue, to the number of eight thousand." "Our deceased brother, though he meddled not at all in our present heats and differences as a party, for several of the last years of his life continued in the communion of our Church."[1] That Gouge was not so well thought of by the Churchmen of Wales is evident from a note by William Wynne in a new edition of Powel's *History of Cambria*, published in 1697. In this we are told that Christianity was not corrupt and imperfect among the Welsh before it was purified by Gouge and his friends,

[1] Dr. Tillotson's *Funeral Sermon for Mr. Gouge.*

but " since his travels into Wales, and the propagating of his doctrine among the ignorant of that country, Presbytery, which before had scarce taken root, has daily increased, and grown to a head." The schools continued in operation as long as Gouge lived, and they contributed largely towards the literary revival of this period. After his death the Trust withdrew its labours from Wales to London. But Stephen Hughes, with three collaborators, brought out in 1688 a work which influenced the thoughts of Welshmen immensely for two centuries, and that was a translation of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. Another eminent and industrious Welshman of the seventeenth century was Charles Edwards. He may be described as a mild Puritan preacher, who conformed later as a layman. He was educated at All Souls, Oxford, where he refused to submit to Parliament in 1647, and was expelled. He was afterwards admitted a fellow of Jesus College. In 1650, we find him receiving a salary from the propagators of the Gospel in Wales, and two or three years later we find him ministering at Llanrhaiadr in Mochnant. His great work is *Hanes y Ffydd*, but he edited a number of works for the Gouge Trust, and in 1691 he published his autobiography. He led a sad and melancholy life, out of harmony with the times.

II.

The reformed Church had but a short time to win the affections of the Welsh people—less than one hundred years—when the Puritan rebellion laid it level with the dust, and put out its light for well nigh twenty years. From the year 1567, when the New Testament and Prayer Book first appeared in Welsh, to the year 1643,

when episcopacy was extirpated by Parliament, is but a short time for the reformed Church to win over an ancient race strongly prejudiced against the Protestant changes, and yet history abundantly proves that the Church was strong and popular when the blow fell. Laud had already done much to strengthen the position of the Church in Wales. He was determined that the bishops should reside in their dioceses and attend to their episcopal duties, and he ordered them to report any irregularities in the parochial clergy. Thus Theophilus Field of St. Davids was told to reside in his diocese, and in 1633 we find him reporting that he had "suspended a lecturer for his inconformity."[1] William Murray, bishop of Llandaff, reports that William Erbery, vicar of St. Mary's, Cardiff, and Walter Cradock, his curate, had been preaching "very schismatically and dangerously to the people."[2] The curate is described as "a bold, ignorant young fellow." In 1635, the bishop had preferred articles against Erbery and William Wroth of Llanvaches in the High Commission Court. Matthews, the vicar of Penmain, was "preaching against the keeping of all holy days," and he was inhibited. Wroth had submitted in 1638, but Erbery would not submit, and so he resigned his vicarage and left the diocese. Wroth was an enthusiastic preacher and a zealous revivalist, and Llanvaches, a small country parish near Chepstow, became the Jerusalem of the Puritans of the border counties. Cradock had to leave Cardiff, and went to North Wales to serve as curate at Wrexham. After one year he had to leave on account of "inconformity." He travelled to Shrewsbury to see Richard Symonds, a like-minded Puritan,

[1] Lambeth *MSS.* [2] *Ibid.*

and then proceeded to Llanfair Waterdine on the borders of Hereford and Radnor, and there he appears to have remained for three or four years under the protection of Sir Robert Harley of Brampton Bryan, where he was joined by Morgan Llwyd[1] and Vavasor Powell. In 1639, he was at Llanvaches assisting the aged Wroth until his death in 1642, with an Independent congregation to minister to. When the Civil War broke out, he and his followers had to flee to Bristol for refuge. Morgan Llwyd refers to the desolation of the Welsh saints during their exile at Bristol. The plight of these Puritans who had fled from Wales was brought to the notice of Parliament. Did these men belong to Wales? They were Erbery, Cradock, Symonds, Mostyn, Henry Walter, Vavasor Powell, and Morgan Llwyd. Powell and Llwyd were quite young men who had never been ordained. The others were in no way representatives of Wales, and probably knew nothing of the Welsh language. They belonged to the border counties or the Marches. When Bristol was taken by the king's forces, the exiles set out for London, and were robbed on the way. The Long Parliament had already appointed a "Grand Committee of Religion," which was afterwards called a "Committee for Scandalous Ministers," of which Sir Robert Harley of Brampton Bryan was an active member. Then a committee was appointed at the end of 1642 "for the relief of well-affected ministers as had been plundered." This small committee became all powerful, and was known as the "Committee for Plundered Ministers." In order to provide funds for

[1] *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd*, II., xxiii.—Principal J. H. Davies.

this committee, an ordinance of 31st March, 1643, confiscated all the possessions of bishops and cathedral clergy, and even their private estates fell into the hands of the sequestrators. The funds were administered by the "Committee for Plundered Ministers," which "enjoyed almost complete autonomy of jurisdiction."[1] The plundered speedily became plunderers, and did just what they liked, wherever the authority of Parliament reached, for a number of years. They sequestrated Mydrim to supply a maintenance to a godly minister at Tenby. The revenues of the collegiate church of Brecon were applied towards increasing the maintenance of the minister of Cardigan. The profits of the rectory of Amlwch were granted as an augmentation to the minister of Beaumaris. There exists a record of many such orders.[2] In September, 1643, the Commons accepted the solemn league and covenant which provided for "the extirpation of popery, prelacy (that is Church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, lest we partake of other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues."[3] In 1645, a special order was made by the Commons granting £100 a year each to Henry Walter, Walter Cradock, and Richard Symonds, out of the confiscated property of the chapters of Llandaff and St. Davids, "towards

[1] *Puritan Movement in Wales*, 36.—T. Richards.
[2] Bodleian *MS.*, 327.
[3] *Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, 188.—S. R. Gardiner.

their maintenance in the work of the ministry in South Wales." These men spent most of their time in London, and followed the Parliamentary forces when their services were required, and did not dare to appear without their troops of horses in South Wales, but they continued to draw a salary. Cradock was the minister of All Hallows in Lombard Street, and preached before the House of Commons in 1646. Symonds was beneficed in Kent,[1] and preached before the House of Commons in 1646 and 1648. Those who ministered in English and *Welsh* received a special consideration,[2] because at first the Committee found it difficult to find an adequate number of men who were competent or willing to declaim in Welsh against the Church and Prayer Book. With the exception of Llwyd there is no evidence that the leaders knew enough Welsh to preach in that language. The members of the Wrexham committee acting for North Wales showed a considerable anxiety for their own maintenance. On 7th June, 1648, the tithes of six parishes were bestowed on Vavasor Powell and Ambrose Mostyn, "to hold and enjoy in the fullest and amplest manner," and a sum of £120 a year from the income of the bishop of St. Asaph was granted to Morgan Llwyd. These men found that their income was still inadequate, and a further sum of £150 was voted in November, 1650, to these same persons.[3] Even the Propagation Act of 1649–50 did not supersede the functions of the all powerful "Committee for Plundered Ministers." It was made actually a court of appeal

[1] Edwards' *Gangraena.*

[2] Bodleian *MS.*, 325.

[3] The Minute of the N. Wales Committee in the Bodleian Records.

from the decisions of the commissioners appointed under the Act. It became an effective engine of persecution in the hands of a new brood of upstart ministers. The committee had agents here and there who had grievances against the old clergy. When these unscrupulous agents satisfied the "plundered ministers" that their nominees to the sequestered livings were godly and orthodox and "painful in their preaching," they were appointed "to officiate the said cure." Some well-known clergymen were ejected about 1643. Dr. David Lloyd was turned out of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, Dr. Griffith Williams was deprived of Ysceifiog. Some of the most competent Welsh scholars were ejected—Thomas Powell of Cantref, "for having adhered to the king;" Hugh Lloyd, afterwards bishop of Llandaff, for "refusing the covenant;" Francis Davies of Llangan, "for not reading the directory;" Thomas Morgan of Llandough, "for obstinacy." As many as thirty-five were ejected, before the passing of the Act of propagation, in Glamorganshire alone.[1] In Monmouthshire, eighteen clergymen were ejected before the Act. In Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire the Puritans were too weak to effect drastic changes until the final discomfiture of the royalist forces, then they went on merrily with their work of devastation.

The Welsh clergy, almost to a man, declared for the king at the outbreak of the Civil War. Rhys Prichard, the vicar of Llandovery, and the famous author of poems known as *Canwyll y Cymry*, spent his substance freely in order to entertain the king's party worthily. General Fairfax complained that the Welsh clergy were

[1] *Puritan Movement in Wales*, 52.—T. Richards.

leading their parishioners in arms against the Parliament. Cradock denounced them in a sermon preached before the House of Commons, and declared that there were not thirteen conscientious ministers "who preached profitably in the Welsh language twice every Lord's Day." There is evidence that they did preach when they were licensed to preach, but the Homilies, translated by Edward James, were often read instead of a sermon. Cradock was not a competent judge. There is no evidence that he ever preached in Welsh. He thought that the London "superstitious method of observing Christmas Day worthy of the mountains of Wales."[1] The observance of Christmas Day had to be given up before long even in London, for Evelyn writes in his diary on Christmas Day, 1654, "No public offices in Churches, but penalties on observers." Morgan Llwyd, another contemporary Puritan, describes the services of the Prayer Book as merely mechanical religion, and in his book called *The Three Birds* advises the eagle that it is high time to put it aside and bury it. No prominent Welsh doctor of divinity was invited to join the Westminster Assembly of Divines in 1643, not because they were deficient in learning and theological scholarship, but because no divines of pronounced Presbyterian orthodoxy could be found. The Puritans came from England or the Marches. Erbery, Wroth, Cradock, Walter, Symonds, Miles, were strangers in the land; and the men who set themselves to destroy the ancient episcopal Church in Wales, with its long traditions, were utterly divided among themselves. Cradock was an Independent, Mostyn a Presbyterian, Vavasor Powell a Millenarian and Ranter, Erbery a

[1] *The Parliament explained to Wales*, Pt. III., 26.

Seeker, Llwyd a Mystic with strong predilections towards Quakerism, John Miles an Anabaptist. And they bitterly complained that they were greatly hindered by the "seduced ignorance of the people,"[1] and their subservience to the gentry. A general disaffection made itself manifest in 1648, the year of the second Civil War. Vavasor Powell and Ambrose Mostyn, and most of the ministers, had to take up arms for the "disarming of the disaffected."[2] When the rebellion was put down, a heavy fine was imposed on North and South Wales, and the former had to pay £24,000, and the latter £20,500.[3]

In July, 1649, the position of the ministers was greatly strengthened by the appointment of Major General Thomas Harrison to the command of South Wales. His coming was like a ray of light in a day of gloom. The Propagation Act was framed and passed in February, 1649–50. It seems fairly clear that Harrison, Hugh Peters, and Vavasor Powell[4] were mainly responsible for this revolutionary Act. Seventy-one commissioners were appointed, but any five of them had full authority and power to hear charges, and "two credible witnesses" were considered ample to prove the delinquency or malignancy of the most distinguished of the clergy. The commissioners, or any five of them, were authorized to grant certificates to such persons as were recommended by twenty-five approvers, or any five of them. Most of the commissioners were not Welshmen, and only three or four

[1] *Civil Wars in Wales*, I., 414.—J. Roland Phillips.
[2] *Ibid*, II., 373.
[3] *Acts and Ordinances*, II., 14, 207.—Firth and Rait.
[4] Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Pt. I., 149.

representatives of old Welsh families are found in the list, and these had inherited a very considerable portion of the tithes and lands that had been alienated from the Church at the dissolution of the monasteries. Some of the commissioners never took any active part in the work. They felt obliged to permit their names to be used. Had they refused they knew well that their action would be construed into malignancy or delinquency, and they had no desire to see their tithes and lands going the same way as the remnants of the tithes and lands which had been left to the Church. The majority of the commissioners were prosperous English yeomen or aspiring lawyers, but the master mind throughout in South Wales was Colonel Philip Jones of Swansea. This man acquired large possessions. He was Cromwell's comptroller of the household, and a member of the new House of Peers, but in spite of all his active participations in the most revolutionary proceedings of the Puritan movement, he managed to save himself and his estates at the Restoration. He became high sheriff of Glamorgan in 1671, and died a large landowner.

The most active of the approvers were Powell, Cradock, Llwyd, Oliver Thomas, and Jenkin Jones. Jenkin Lloyd and John Ellis were moderate men, who found no difficulty in conforming at the Restoration. While the approvers and ministers were receiving good salaries, far more than the ejected clergy ever received, the lot of the deprived and their families defies description. Some of them were granted allowances of one fifth, which was very irregularly and tardily paid, and very often not paid at all. Some of them lived on small [illegible]ittances of their own, others turned farmers or labourers,

others kept private schools.[1] Some went to Ireland, some settled down in England, and some crossed over to the Continent. Some of the ejected clergy secured appointments as schoolmasters under the Act. Many of them received private doles from friends, hoping for better times, and some of the most helpless accepted the new regime, and were re-admitted to their cures. The general sympathy of the Welsh people was so decidedly with the ejected clergy that, notwithstanding the ordinances of Parliament, the old services of the Church were still conducted more or less secretly in churches and private houses. Jeremy Taylor, the author of *Holy Living and Holy Dying*, attended the king's forces in Wales, where, in 1644, he was taken prisoner by the parliamentary troops before the castle of Cardigan. After his release, he found shelter in Carmarthenshire, and with Nicholson, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, kept a school near Golden Grove, the residence of his friend and patron, Richard Vaughan, earl of Carbery. It was during his residence in Wales, under surveillance as a known loyalist, with many demands on his time and patience, that he wrote many of his sermons and his remarkable treatise on the *Liberty of Prophesying*. This great work is the first exposition of the true principles of toleration in matters of religious opinion. He frequently preached to the family at Golden Grove, and resided chiefly in Wales till the year 1658.

Vavasor Powell was obliged to admit that the ejected clergy occasionally preached because the people would hear none else,[2] but this could only happen in remote

[1] Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*.

[2] *A Brief Narrative of the Propagation*, 4.

country districts. The commissioners and approvers strove hard to find suitable men in London and the universities for the work of the ministry in Wales. In spite of all these efforts there was a serious dearth of ministers. Many who were willing to serve were ignorant of the Welsh tongue, others who had no knowledge and fitness offered themselves willingly for the sake of the salary. The approvers were obliged to requisition the services of the new schoolmasters, who were no better than the others. This dearth of ministers kept the approvers continually on the move. Henry Walter, Seaborn, and Symonds itinerated in Glamorgan and Monmouth, Cradock was busy in the country around Presteign, Jenkin Jones in Breconshire, Ambrose Mostyn had his headquarters at Wrexham, Morgan Llwyd laboured for some time among the Welsh people of Carnarvonshire,[1] and then withdrew to Wrexham. Vavasor Powell, styled the "Metropolitan of the Itinerants," gave most of his energies to Brecon, Radnor, and Montgomery, but he did not confine himself to any particular locality. John Miles was an Anabaptist, and laboured to propagate his doctrine from Hereford to Carmarthen.[2] The majority of the ministers were men of no academic standing, and many of them were exceedingly ignorant. Alexander Griffith, the deprived vicar of Glasbury and author of *Strena Vavasoriensis*, speaks of them with the utmost contempt. Rowland Vaughan, country squire, translator, and hymn writer, denounces them as false prophets and doctrine-mongers.[3] Edward Dafydd, the

[1] *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd*, I., 68.—T. E. Ellis, A.S.

[2] *Hanes y Bedyddwyr.*—Joshua Thomas.

[3] Preface to *Prifannau Crefydd Gristnogawl.*

poet of Margam, in his *Cerdd i'r Ffanaticiaid*, describes them as blind leaders who knew how to commit frauds. The ballad writers of the time made great fun of the ignorance of the preachers who bellowed in the streets and market places. The gifted Huw Morus trounced them with satire and wit in his popular songs. Mere lads were paid salaries as responsible ministers. Even Calamy admits that there came in "an unlettered tribe who did not mind the matter at all." The more stolid Presbyterians called the new lights "tub-preachers, tinkers, and cobblers." With all the new recruits, drawn from England, from the army and everywhere, there was still a serious dearth of ministers. A John Taylor, who made a tour in Wales in 1653, was impressed by the sparsity of regular Church services. The evidence of Alexander Griffith,[1] the ejected vicar of Glasbury, that there were "700 parishes unsupplied with any recognized minister," though not free from bias, indicates into what a miserable state of desolation the ancient Church in Wales had been brought by the revolutionary propaganda of outsiders. The ministers acknowledged no authority, and often declined to abide by the order of worship as prescribed in the Directory, and there were many congregations who preferred private houses to the parish churches. Prayers became inordinately long and discursive. Some of the itinerants inveighed against education and learning, and even Morgan Llwyd describes a doctor of divinity as "a wily creature" and a "bird with a feeble song."[2] Powell, and even Cradock,[3] objected to the high-handed

[1] *Strena Vavasoriensis*, 5.
[2] *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd*, I., 252.
[3] *Divine Drops Distilled*, 23.

proceedings of some of the commissioners, while Erbery complained of Puritan notables who had built for themselves good houses at the expense of royalists;[1] and in answer to a charge of heresy brought against him by the notorious "Committee for Plundered Ministers," he denounced the Puritan congregations or churches as "whores of Babylon," He had nothing but contempt for men like Cradock and Powell, who delighted in "pieces of silver and a fortnight's pay." Erbery was by far the ablest controversialist of the Puritan party, and he exposed the corruption of the leaders with ruthless candour. A modern writer,[2] apparently without a shred of evidence, says that he suffered from an affliction which had deranged his mind. Erbery strongly withstood the current conception of the Millennium, and wrote to Powell, "Some of your followers have begun to reign already as kings, but not with Christ." Powell had a beautiful home, called Goitre, at Kerry in Montgomeryshire, and had no hesitation in sending a troop of soldiers to distrain for rents in New Radnor.[3] Cradock had acquired some of the confiscated lands of the earl of Worcester. Colonel John Jones, a regicide and one of the propagating commissioners, had the Gloddaeth and Gogarth manors conveyed to him by Parliament. Morgan Llwyd died as the age of forty in 1659, possessed of Cynfal in Merioneth, and property at Trefalun, with gold and plate and cattle, to divide among his children.[4] Jenkin Lloyd, the minister of

[1] *The Sword Doubled*, 4.

[2] *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, 43.—Thomas Rees.

[3] Thurloe State Papers.

[4] *Gweithiau*, II., 279.

Llangoedmor, who was the recipient of some special grants for his maintenance, became a member of the Protectorate Parliament of 1654, and had pleaded hard and long for the renewing of the Propagation Act in 1653, but he found it easy to conform to the Prayer Book at the Restoration.

To the "Babel of tongues" already existing, another tongue came from Leicestershire. This was the Quaker tongue. George Fox, the Drayton shoemaker, had large audiences in Radnorshire and Monmouthshire, and "the indwelling light" spread like wild-fire. Two able recruits were gained in John ap John, a disciple of Morgan Llwyd, and Richard Davies of Welshpool. They gained many adherents in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire and other parts of Wales. Fox was accompanied by John ap John in 1657 during his visit to Pembrokeshire.[1] At Tenby the mayor gave them a great welcome, and the military governor "confessed to the truth." At Haverfordwest "many were settled in the new covenant." From there they moved east towards Carmarthen, and northwards towards Aberystwyth. After this the towns of North Wales were visited. A visit of Richard Davies of Welshpool to the southern districts in 1665 is recorded. He had many well-attended meetings in Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire, the people rejoicing on hearing "the truth being declared in their own language." The persecution of the Quakers began during the protectorate, the Puritans having no more idea of toleration than Charles and Laud. The Presbyterians called toleration "the grand design of the devil." Baxter said, "I abhor unlimited toleration, or any toleration

[1] *The Quakers of Pembrokeshire*, 4.—Principal D. Salmon.

at all." The Anglican, Jeremy Taylor, when pleading for liberty of conscience and religious toleration, was like "a voice crying in the wilderness." The Quakers were peculiarly exposed to persecution on account of their tenets and oddities of behaviour. They would not take the oaths required by law, and they were opposed to war and all that appertains to it. They would not remove their hats in churches and courts of law. When addressing a single person they would not use the plural pronouns, but insisted on "thou" and "thee"; nor would they use the customary complimentary titles of "Mr." and "Mrs." Churches they called "steeplehouses," and the Puritan ministers they denominated "priests." Notwithstanding these apparent disadvantages, the Quakers spread rapidly not only through England and Wales, but to Scotland and Ireland, and even to the American colonies and the West Indies. Gentle souls were longing for peace in the midst of religious and political strife, and were ready to welcome an escape from the unseemly noise of the meetings of the preachers, in a mode of worship which consisted of "waiting upon God in a holy silence." The Quakers could not escape the penalties of the law. They were imprisoned for refusing to pay tithes; they were fined for absence from church; they were exposed to punishments for refusing to take the oaths and for not removing their hats. It is obvious that their fate depended very much on the temper of the magistrate. Richard Davies of Welshpool records several instances of Quakers being sheltered from the justices by benevolent magnates like Lord Powis, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and William Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph.[1] After

[1] *The Quakers of Pembrokeshire*, 2.—D. Salmon.

the passing of the Toleration Act, when zeal was no longer fanned by persecution, Quakerism began to decline, and it has continued to decline almost steadily ever since.

The first known reference in Welsh literature to Quakerism appears to be found in a book published in 1675[1] by Rondl Davies, vicar of Meifod. The Quakers had gained many converts in that parish and district, through the zeal of the Lloyds of Dolobrân. A well-known work by William Dyer was translated into Welsh, and published in 1688. Theophilus Evans, the renowned author of the *Mirror of the Ages*, in his youthful days, wrote an appeal to the Quakers "to return to Christianity;" and in 1746, a Quaker work by Benjamin Holmes was translated into Welsh, entitled, *A serious call to all people to return to the Spirit of Christ*. Another remarkable work, called *Annerch i'r Cymry*, appeared in 1782. The author was Ellis Pugh, a native of Dolgelley, who emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1686. With all its consuming zeal Quakerism failed to appeal to the distinctly Welsh people except in two or three districts. It was only in the Anglo-Welsh localities that its mission made any effective headway.

For the purposes of administering and collecting the revenues of the fallen Church, a host of officials were required, more than "neither Law nor Gospel nor former Ages ever heard of." There was a sequestrator and a collector for each county, special solicitors and clerks for conferences. The estates of bishops, deans, and chapters, which were confiscated as early as 1643, supplied a competence to the approvers, and when these estates proved inadequate they were supplemented

[1] *Profiad yr Ysbrydion.*

by the estates of "malignant" Cavaliers. The ordinary itinerants and resident ministers were kept at a comparatively "low diet," and received on an average about £70 a year. Even when the Propagation Act expired, a letter of Cromwell enabled the commissioners and approvers "to go on cheerfully in the work," but the financial side of the movement passed into the hands of London committees, and this led to an inquiry in 1654 into the administration of the Act. The propagators had already done their work. By the 19th of November, 1651, the approvers had ejected 51 clergymen in North Wales, and substitutes were provided for only 20 of these parishes. By 1653, over 400 clergy, most of them graduates of the universities, had been expelled, and some 150 preachers took their place. The bishops were barbarously treated, and the cathedrals were used as stables. Griffith Williams, dean of Bangor and bishop of Ossory, was imprisoned. Robert Llwyd, vicar of Chirk, an exemplary parish priest, and author of *Llwybr Hyffordd*, printed in 1630, and the editor of the edition of the Welsh Bible, which appeared during the same year, lost his benefice and canonry. John Davies of Mallwyd, a noted scholar and author, and Rhys Prichard of Llandovery, a famous Welsh preacher and poet, both died in 1644, having lost their canonries in 1643. John Edwards, a Monmouthshire vicar, and the translator of *The Marrow of Divinity* into Welsh, was turned out. Thomas Powel, a doctor of divinity and rector of Cantref in the county of Brecon, suffered much indignity at the hands of the Puritan party, and was obliged to escape for his life to the Continent. Edward Wynn, a Welsh writer of great ability, was ejected by the propagators. Alexander Griffith, known

as the vicar of Glasbury, and the doughty opponent of Vavasor Powell and the itinerants, lost his benefices and became a schoolmaster at Hay. Matthew Herbert, once tutor to Henry Vaughan the Silurist, was ejected from Llangattock in Breconshire, but he managed to preach in his church until 1655, when he was committed to the common gaol of Brecon.[1] His banishment was only averted by the intercession of powerful friends.

The old parochial schools automatically perished, one after the other, when the revenues of the parishes were diverted from the clergy, but the old lay grammar schools in North and South Wales survived throughout the changes. A large sum out of impropriations and confiscations was assigned in 1649 in order to aid education, and during the next few years over 50 schools were started in the towns and central villages, but the distribution of even these schools was unfair and arbitrary. In the whole of Anglesey only one school was set up. In the county of Carnarvon only two schools were supplied, but Denbighshire had eleven. Montgomery, Brecknock, and Radnor were highly favoured, but the unfortunate counties of Cardigan and Pembroke had to be satisfied with two schools each.[2] Eight of the ejected clergymen were appointed schoolmasters "from mere pity,"[3] but there is no evidence that most of the schoolmasters had any distinct qualifications as men of learning. Their chief recommendations consisted in their Puritan orthodoxy and willingness to fill gaps on the Sabbaths. There is evidence

[1] Petition to the House of Lords, 1660.

[2] *History of Puritan Movement in Wales*, 226—230.—T. Richards.

[3] *Examen et Purgamen Vavasoris*, 18.

that the episcopal and capitular revenues, which were supposed to have been diverted to education, were not devoted fully to that purpose. The receipts from North Wales for the year ending 1657 amounted to £1658, and the payments to £360.[1] It is not clear what happened to the balance. In the petition to Parliament from South Wales including Monmouthshire in 1653, it is alleged that there were not more than twenty-one schoolmasters stipended and approved. The petition was presented by Colonel Freeman, the attorney general for the Commonwealth in South Wales. The petition was signed by the supporters of the government. In this document, one of the schoolmasters is described as "a young man of no competent learning," another is branded as "drunken and debauched," and the petitioners allege that "the inhabitants were kept back from sending their children to be trained by such ill-qualified tutors." A need was generally felt for a college or university for training young men for the ministry, and to the credit of the Puritans be it said, that if the protectorate had continued a few years longer, it is at least conceivable that such a college would have been founded, but the restoration of the monarchy removed these possibilities for an indefinite period.

The expiration of the Propagation Act, and the inquiry which was instituted into its administration, resulted in Vavasor Powell being suspected of having misappropriated the funds. Anthony Wood states that Powell had "the disposal of £40,000 per annum from

[1] The Commonwealth Exchequer Papers. Cp. *Landmarks in the History of the Welsh Church*, 140, 301.—Archbishop of Wales.

1649 to 1653, at which time it was unaccounted for," and that " he built for himself a very fair and sumptuous house in Kerry in Montgomery." Vavasor Powell was born of humble parents in Radnorshire in 1617. His mother was a Yorkshire woman who had settled in Wales. As to his character, opinions vary considerably. A modern Nonconformist writer describes him as " the apostolic Vavasor Powell,"[1] " this eminent minister,"[2] whose " memory is most dear to every religious and unprejudiced Welshman " ;[3] but it is quite clear that the clergy of his time regarded him as a hypocrite and a rogue. Very serious charges are brought against him by Alexander Griffith, the ejected vicar of Glasbury. In the *Strena Vavasoriensis* (1654) it is said that the " hostler or groom to Isaac Thomas, Inn Keeper and Mercer in Bishop Castle in Shropshire," became later the " Metropolitan of the Itinerants, and one of the Executioners of the Gospel." There is no contemporary evidence that he spent any time at Oxford, but he had an aptitude for learning, and he became a schoolmaster and afterwards a preacher at Clun in Shropshire, " having borrowed and changed the letters of orders of an old kinsman." The orders were scanned and found spurious and counterfeit at the Sessions of the county of Radnor. He married " a Mistress Quarrel, a walking pedlar in Presteign," a woman of ill-repute, three weeks after her husband's death. He had " the impudence to protest and vow before God and men that he never received a penny for his pains and preaching."[4]

[1] *Nonconformity in Wales*, 85.—Thomas Rees.
[2] *Ibid*, 100.
[3] *Ibid*, 105.
[4] *Strena Vavasoriensis*, 4.

Powell replied to these charges, and accused Griffith of drunkenness and lewdness.[1] In 1642, Powell was driven out of Shropshire and made his way to London. He moved to Dartford, where he remained for two years, and where his fervid preaching gained him many admirers. In 1646 he ventured to return to Wales, "having the language thereof," armed with a testimonial signed by Stephen Marshall, Nye, and others, and applied himself with great zeal to preaching in churches, halls, fairs, and markets. The scripture "was so admirably imprinted in his memory that he was a concordance." He was also "a good natural philosopher and skilled in physick, which greatly furthered his invention."[2] Most of the details given in the "life and death" must have been supplied by Powell himself, and for that reason it is very difficult to balance the two contradictory accounts which we have of this extraordinary man. He hated episcopacy, and determined to overthrow the Established Church root and branch. In December, 1649, he preached before the lord mayor of London. In the following February he and his friends got the Parliament to pass an "Act for the better propagation and preaching of the Gospel in Wales." Powell was one of the approvers under the Act, and both commissioners and approvers set to work forthwith with enthusiasm and violence. The English soldiery, exhibiting the Propagation Act as their charter, drove out the Welsh clergy from parish after parish. Powell had a troop of 100 horse, and Cradock a troop of 200 horse. The clergy were denounced as "pagans and infidels, and a people that

[1] *Brief Narrative of V. Powell* (1671), by himself.
[2] *Life and Death of Vavasor Powell* (1671), by his friends.

understood nothing of God." A gentleman petitioned Powell for relief to the poor children of the ejected clergy, and he is reported to have replied, "That their heads should be dashed against the walls, as Babylonish brats."[1] When the commissioners and approvers were in the heyday of their authority, they were thwarted by a disturbing petition to Parliament, signed by 15,000 persons from South Wales. The petitioners pointed out that the parishes were left unsupplied with ministers and schoolmasters, and that the commissioners, instead of accounting for the whole of the Church revenues sequestered, accounted only for less than half the amount. They were also charged with letting the benefices of the deprived clergy to friends and dependents. Forty-five instances are given in the petition—Glasbury, valued at £100 a year, was let to a carpenter at a rental of £50. The emoluments of Monkton, in Pembrokeshire, estimated at £110 per annum, were handed over to a brother of Commissioner Sampson Lort for £45 a year. There was consternation among the approvers, because the Act was to expire on the 25th of March, 1653, and Jenkin Lloyd appeared at the Parliament gate to beg the renewing of the Act, and Vavasor Powell hastened to London to appeal to the members. It had been arranged for Cradock to preach to the Parliament at St. Margaret's, Westminster, but something went wrong, and the preaching propagators were voted down. Cradock did not preach, and the Act was not renewed. Cromwell was sorely displeased, and declared afterwards in the council chamber, "Signally they threw that businesse under foot, to the countenancing of the malignant party in this commonwealth."

[1] Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, 104.

This refusal of the Parliament made Harrison desperate, and drove Cromwell into the arms of the "fifth monarchists." The Rump was turned out, and Cromwell gave authority to the commissioners and approvers to "go on cheerfully in the work," and the Church in Wales was treated with greater harshness than before. It is too often forgotten that this Act did not apply to England. Wales alone was singled out for this brutal and tragic experiment. But things did not go on smoothly. General Harrison, Vavasor Powell, and Morgan Llwyd abjured the protector's new ideal of government. A full examination of accounts and charges in connection with the administration of the Propagation Act was demanded. Vavasor Powell promptly took up the challenge and denounced the lord protector in a sermon at Blackfriars Church, and was taken into custody for some days. Soon after this outburst he returned to Wales, where he started an agitation against the Government, and drew up a petition to "the Lord General Cromwell." This paper purported to have been signed by over three hundred persons, but Thurloe declared that the three hundred signatures were "all written by the same hand, and that many persons names were entered without their consent."[1] A troop of horse was sent to Montgomeryshire to arrest Powell, and he was brought to Worcester. He was reprimanded and released. A counter address was then prepared, and signed by some hundreds of persons, favourable to Cromwell, and presented to the protector by Cradock. Hence it appears that the two men who were mainly responsible for the relentless

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, IV., 505.

persecution of the Church in Wales were now in bitter opposition. From 1655 onward Powell became a marked man. He never ceased attacking Cromwell, while at the same time keeping up a running battle with the Independents and Quakers. At the Restoration he refused to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and was deprived of his liberty. A troop of soldiers surrounded his house and took him a prisoner to Welshpool, and from thence to Shrewsbury, where he remained for two months. His fiery spirit could not abide inactivity, and as soon as he was released he began to go about as before, as if nothing had happened, and within twenty-four days he found himself charged with sedition, rebellion, and treason, and he remained in custody for several months. At last he was summoned before the king and council, and he was committed to the Fleet prison. There he lay for about two years, when he was removed to Southsea Castle, near Portsmouth, where he spent five years. He was again released. Even now his indomitable spirit rebelled, and he returned to districts in Monmouth and Glamorgan to agitate. He preached in the churchyard at Merthyr Tydvil, and the rector reported his behaviour. He was taken at his lodgings at Merthyr, and removed to Cardiff Gaol. When he was brought before the justices at Cowbridge[1] he was asked, "Are you in Orders? From whom have you received your ordination?" His answer was, "From God and men," and objected to the questions. The presiding justice said, "You came with some hundred, yea, a thousand horsemen with you into Newport." This Powell denied, but

[1] *Life and Death of Vavasor Powell* (1671), 109. See *The Welsh Nonconformist Memorial*, 170.—Dr. William Richards.

acknowledged that he was accompanied by four or five horsemen. He was remanded and sent back to prison. Later he appeared before the Cardiff justices, who requested him to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. This he declined to submit to, and was sent back to prison. A friend procured his removal to London, and after another appearance before the court he was committed to the Fleet prison, where he remained for about a year until he was released by death in 1670. Such is the life story of this remarkable man. To call him a hypocrite would be absurd. To call him an apostolic messenger would be equally inappropriate. He lived in an age of strong-minded men, determined and unbending, who were ready to die, and did die, for their opinions. On account of their extreme opinionatedness they called each other hypocrites and deceivers. They lived in an age of bitter controversy, when zeal was overstepping all bounds, but some good men stand out prominently above or in spite of the wranglings of their times.

Morgan Llwyd is a notable instance of a pious soul, a keen thinker, a poet, a mystic, who was drawn into the whirlpool of politics and party strife. He was born in 1619 in Merionethshire. It is not known where he was educated, but he came early under the influence of Walter Cradock at Wrexham, whom he followed later to Shropshire. It seems probable that he occupied some post in the household of Sir Robert Harley at Brampton Bryan, and attended the services at the parish church where Stanley Gower, a prominent Puritan, and one of the framers of the Westminster Confession, was vicar. In 1641 he was in Monmouthshire, where he came into contact with Wroth and

Erbery and the Llanvaches Puritans, and there he remained until the outbreak of the Civil War. Then he went to Bristol, and from Bristol to Gloucester, Hampshire, and London. In 1644 we find him at Portsmouth, a chaplain on board a supply ship. Sir Thomas Middleton was fighting for the Parliament on the Welsh borders in Shropshire, and Llwyd joined his army as chaplain. During these years he became acquainted with the most prominent leaders of his party, and when the Propagation Act was passed he was nominated one of the approvers. He made Wrexham his headquarters, where Cradock and others had prepared a vineyard for "full fifteen years," to which he refers in a poem called "An Invitation to differing Brethren."[1] He ministered not at the parish Church, but to "a select order of new lights," and he was sorely tried by dissensions in his own congregation. The briers were springing up, "and thorns and thistles tall." When Parliament abrogated the Propagation Act, Harrison, Powell, Llwyd, and the "fifth monarchy men" rejoiced when Cromwell turned out the Parliament. The next Parliament, known as the Short Parliament, was a packed assembly of 144 members. Six members were assigned to Wales, six to Ireland, and five to Scotland. Of the members from Wales, five of them were "fifth monarchy men." Llwyd expected great things from this Parliament.

It was about this time that he wrote his remarkable dialogue of the Three Birds—the raven, the eagle, the

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[1] "In Wrexham Christ a vineyard had,
A vineyard of red wine;
With truth they have been oft made glad,
The Sun on them did shine."

dove. He was a writer of excellent Welsh prose, and an original thinker of the first order. He deserves a high place among the mystics. The raven represents Church and State before the war. The eagle represents the new regime under Cromwell. The dove is the voice of the reformers, who advocated a truly Christian state. The work was published in 1653, and in December of the same year the Short Parliament was dissolved. Then all the hopes of Llwyd and his friends for a real reformation through Cromwell were shattered. Powell and his supporters travelled about Wales trying to raise a rebellion, while Cradock supported Cromwell. In 1655, Llwyd published in English *An Honest Discourse touching the Present Government*, in which he asks, "What if the Protector would turn plain general again, and take only a general's pay, and instead of O.P. subscribe himself O.C., which differs but little." What happened to him after the year 1656 is not clear. He died in 1659, in the fortieth year of his age, a despondent and pathetic figure, conscious of the failure of all his ideals. He was by far the greatest of the Welsh Puritans, and the only one who published books in Welsh.

III.

The dissolution of the Little or Short Parliament was followed by the "Instrument of Government," in which Cromwell is declared to be "Lord Protector." In the joint names of Cromwell and the Council of State, a new body was formed, to give effect to the religious clauses of the Instrument, which became known as the "Triers." They supplanted the old "Approvers," and they were supposed to enjoy a wider scope than the

"Committee for Plundered Ministers." The Welsh approvers under the Propagation Act were all ministers. The new triers combined the lay and ministerial elements, and an effort was made to secure moderate men. According to the 37th section of the Instrument, toleration and protection are granted to "such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ (though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship or discipline publicly held forth), provided this liberty be not extended to popery or prelacy."[1] The protector and his advisers aimed at making the protectorate workable and popular, and most of the commissioners or triers were men of standing, such as Thomas Goodwin, John Owen, Stephen Marshall, Philip Nye, and Hugh Peters. The direct representative of Wales on this commission was Walter Cradock, who was beginning to grow weary of the "hot heads." No new minister could be admitted to any living without the approbation of the triers, and their certificate was necessary before any minister could claim his maintenance. They were also empowered by the protector to review the appointments made by the old approvers. Itinerancy was discountenanced, and the itinerants found it necessary to restrict their labours to their parishes or respective spheres. One potent factor that militated against the efficiency of the system was the protector's action in making personal appointments to the old Crown livings, and livings in the patronage of delinquent lords and magnates. The protector's presentations were numerous and high-handed. Morgan Llwyd, by the influence of Oliver and his council, was

[1] *Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, 324.—S. R. Gardiner.

restored into favour after his relapse. His short anti-protectorate tirade was condoned, and he was given £100 a year for preaching to a small congregation of "saints" at Wrexham.[1] Philip Jones, the comptroller of the household, and a host of officials, pressed the claims of their nominees. There only remained for the triers the old episcopal patronage, and the approval or otherwise of ministers nominated to benefices by private patrons. Cradock, one of the triers, was a glaring pluralist. Early in 1654 he was presented to the living of Usk, and later, in the same year, to the living of Llangwm, while residing for the most part in London at St. James'. A little before his death in 1659, he retired to his native parish of Llangwm.

Non-residence and pluralism became rampant under the re-modelled system. Parishes were grouped together, and amalgamated in the most arbitrary fashion. We shall take two instances from Cardiganshire. The people of eight parishes—Cardigan, Tremaen, Verwick, Mount, Llangoedmor, Llechryd, Aberporth, Llandygwydd—miles apart and covering a large area, with a population of four or five thousand, were to worship at Cardigan, the "approved centre." The people of the parishes of Lampeter, Silian, Bettws, Llangybi, and Cellan were to worship at Lampeter.[2] The ministers appear to have found it difficult to collect a moderate congreation of like-minded worshippers in these ancient parishes, where the Gospel had been proclaimed for well over a thousand years before the "new lights" were born. The itinerant system had become an acknowledged failure, and more churches were closed. Scores

[1] *Religious Developments in Wales*, 14.—Thomas Richards.
[2] Ibid, 122.

of the country churches were seldom opened at all on Sundays, and the roofs and walls were in a dismal state of repair. The soldiers could not compel the magistrates to enforce the "laws" of Parliament or the protectorate, and General Fleetwood complained that the people of Wales had "envenomed hearts against the ways of God."[1]

There was no toleration to "Prelatists and Papists," but some of the ejected clergy were reinstated by an especial act of grace, and Alexander Griffith, the strenuous opponent of Vavasor Powell, pressed for a commission of inquiry into the charges of embezzlement against the old propagators. The government of the protector was beginning to assume a tolerant attitude when the engine of persecution was again set in motion by the abortive Penruddock rising in 1655. In September of that year a number of proclamations were issued. (1) None of the royalists were to have their children educated by ejected clergy, chaplains, or fellows of colleges. (2) The ejected were forbidden to keep any school, preach, or administer the sacraments. John Evelyn wrote in his diary on Dec. 25th, 1655: "I went to London, where Dr. Wild preached the funeral sermon of Preaching, this being the last day; after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach or administer sacraments, teach schools, etc., on pain of imprisonment or exile. So this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen, or the Church of England herself since the Reformation, to the great rejoicing of both Papist and Presbyter."[2]

[1] Thurloe State Papers, II., 256.

[2] *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, 214.—W. Wray.

So sharp was the persecution that the Royalists had to meet secretly in private houses for communion and worship. Evelyn went to London in August, 1656, "to receive the Blessed Sacrament." He found the churches "filled with sectaries of all sorts, blasphemous and ignorant mechanics usurping pulpits everywhere." The Church of England was reduced to a chamber and conventicle, and "Dr. Wild preached in a private house in Fleet Street, where we had a great meeting of zealous Christians."[1] The persecution was no less severe in Wales, under the despotic rule of major-generals, than in London, and Jeremy Taylor was obliged to give up the school at Golden Grove. Some prominent Churchmen were banished, and others put to death. In May, 1658, "Dr. Hewer, minister of St. Gregory's, was condemned to die, without law, jury, or justice, but by a mock Council of State." He was an excellent preacher and holy man, and "was martyred for having intelligence with his Majesty, through the Lord Marquis of Ormond"[2] Hewer had performed the marriage of Lord Fauconberg to Cromwell's daughter, Mary,[3] using the Prayer Book "with the privity of Cromwell," says Clarendon, "who pretended to yield to it in compliance with the importunity and folly of his daughters."

The Papists were subjected very much in the same way as Anglicans to the disenabling clauses of the enactments of the time, but Cromwell was obliged to give some assurances in his letters to Cardinal Mazarin and the French government, and the penalties against them were not strictly enforced. But the political

[1] *Ibid*, 218.

[2] Evelyn's Diary, 226.

[3] *The English Church* (1625—1714), 160.—W. H. Hutton.

exigencies of the time did not prevent the Puritan writers from denouncing the "wicked Popish Religion." Llwyd brackets the pope with Beelzebub, who had "made Christendom their slaughter house, the Church their dancing school."[1] The downfall of the "harlot of Babylon" was an integral part of the Puritan programme. But there is no evidence to show that the Catholic party was diminishing in Wales. Popish recusants were numerous in 1603,[2] and there is every probability that many had sought tranquillity in the bosom of the Church of Rome during the troublous times of the Civil War and Commonwealth. Breconshire harboured many Welsh Catholics who survived all the changes until the beginning of the nineteenth century, as we shall see in another chapter, and the Holywell district of Flintshire was described as "mostly Papist." The Somersets of Raglan wielded a powerful influence in Monmouthshire, and the Papists of Radnorshire were numerous. The petitioners of 1652 denounced Hugh Powell, teacher of Brecon free school, as "a known Papist, and one who hath bred up many children in popery." In the religious census of 1676, as many as 541 Roman Catholics belonged to Monmouthshire, and no less than 416 were in the deanery of Abergavenny alone.[3] These people were not afraid of the fines and penalties, and it would be safe to conjecture that there were hundreds more who allowed themselves to be enrolled as Anglicans or Sectaries, on account of the disabilities. A college of Jesuits was discovered at Cwm in Herefordshire in 1679, and "a

[1] *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd*, I., 19.
[2] Catalogue of Welsh *MSS.* in the British Museum, I., 124.
[3] *Religious Developments in Wales*, 296.—T. Richards.

number of Welsh Popish books lately printed "[1] were found on the premises. These Catholics were the descendants of men who had never accepted the changes of the Reformation. They rejoiced at the downfall of the reformed Church under the Puritan regime, and cherished strong hopes of a re-instatement of Catholic order under Charles II., and a prominent feature of the reign of the last two Stuarts is a renewal of the secret activities of the Jesuits in Wales.

The Papists were under strict surveillance during the last year of Oliver's life. In March, 1658, he put forth a proclamation that all Cavaliers and Papists must retire from London ; and 800 horses were quartered in St. Paul's, to be ready in case of an emergency. On September 3 he died, and the hope of perpetuating the Puritan system of religion passed away with him. The triumph of Puritanism was due to his strength of will, and its fall was due to his arbitrary measures, want of comprehension and foresight. Evelyn records his death very briefly in his diary—" Died that arch-rebel, Oliver Cromwell, called Protector."[2] Cromwell was a great man, far greater than any of his generals. When estimating his character and policy we need no longer take sides violently as the men of the seventeenth century did. Clarendon's opinion was that he would " be looked upon by posterity as a brave bad man." Clarendon's verdict is not approved of in modern times. Cromwell had many shining virtues, but his religious outlook was narrow and bigoted. He never shared the enlightened views of Jeremy Taylor, Hammond, and Milton, on religious toleration. He regarded religious and

[1] *Post-Restoration Tracts*, National Library.

[2] Diary and Correspondence, 227.

conscientious churchmen as "the malignant episcopal party." The Irish Catholics he treated very barbarously. A Protestant, from his point of view, was necessarily a Lutheran or Calvinist. The Churchmanship of the Laudian school was entirely beyond his comprehension. Toleration was extended only to those who accepted the existing forms of Puritan belief. Any serious deviation from the main articles of the Westminster confession was not permitted. Thus the Quakers and Unitarians found themselves bitterly persecuted. The treatment accorded to John Biddle[1] is an example of Puritan intolerance. Biddle, born in 1615, was a native of Gloucestershire, and educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford. He graduated in 1638, and remained for some time at Oxford as a college tutor. In 1641 he was elected master of Crisps school in the city of Gloucester. He began to entertain doubts concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, and wrote "Twelve Arguments," in which he denied the deity of the Holy Spirit. The magistrates promptly took action against him, and committed him to prison, where he remained for six months. A committee appointed by Parliament summoned him to London, and Biddle was again imprisoned. While in prison he wrote a *Confession of Faith*, which was published in 1648, and he was kept in closer captivity. In 1651 he was released, and then he began to collect a Unitarian congregation in London, and wrote a *Scripture Catechism*. In consequence of his religious activities he was brought before the bar of the House of Commons, and committed to prison as a felon, and forbidden the use of ink and paper. His

[1] Toulmin's *Life of Biddle* (1789).

life was in serious danger. Fortunately for Biddle, the Parliament was dissolved by Cromwell, and he obtained his release, but he was not allowed to enjoy his liberty very long, for he was thrown into Newgate prison before the end of 1655. Cromwell, in order to put an end to the agitation, banished him to the isle of Scilly, where he remained for three years. He obtained his release on the death of Cromwell, returned to London, and resumed his religious activities. He was allowed his freedom for about three years, and then in 1662 he was haled from his lodgings, committed to prison, and fined one hundred pounds. In less than five weeks, worn out by his sufferings and trials, he was released by death in the 47th year of his age. Anthony Wood acknowledges that "except his opinions, there was little or nothing blame-worthy in him."

The Puritan movement in Wales was not altogether a passing phase. It left its mark for good in several distinct ways. (1) Sunday was better observed, and many old customs passed away. (2) The clergy applied themselves more diligently to preaching. (3) The enthusiasm of the Puritan preachers was catching, and thousands of people who had led careless and thoughtless lives were compelled to think seriously of the claims of religion. (4) The profane gentry and nobility were roused out of their pleasures and religious stupor, and transformed into better men by suffering. (5) It showed the way towards educational progress. (6) It produced a school of writers, such as Morgan Llwyd, Stephen Hughes, and Charles Edwards. Such were the gains, and they were great. The losses also were great. By their violence, extravagant language, and irreverence, the Puritans did much to undermine true religion.

The old reverence gave way before the mocking spirit of the next generation. They treated venerable buildings with the utmost contempt, and imprisoned the popular bishops of St. Asaph and Llandaff in the Tower. Bishop Mainwaring of St. Davids was apprehended suddenly, fined heavily, plundered violently, and persecuted continually until his death at Carmarthen in 1653. The "Petition of South Wales" declared that "the churches were in most places shut up, and the fabric thereof ready to fall to the ground for want of repair." The evidence of Dr. Bates, physician to Charles I., and afterwards to Cromwell, who wrote *The Troubles of England*, published in 1685, is that of a contemporary observer: "Let North Wales be one instance for all of that Reformation, where about some hundreds, and of these not a few good and very learned divines were turned out of their livings; and Powell, Cradock, Floid, and a few other ignorant vagabonds that had no certain habitation, going about in the meantime as itinerant evangelists, preaching, or rather canting from the pulpit, devoured vast revenues, for the Commissioners let out for a trifle the remnant of the tithes for feeding such ravens, who were to be accountable to the Rump Parliament for them at *Neversmass*."

CHAPTER VII.

The Church and Dissent.

THE Church in Wales at the Restoration was in a maimed condition. Everything had been put out of joint, and there were no funds available for restoring the cathedrals and churches. There were no prayer books, no organs, no furniture. Most of the parsonages were in a dilapidated state, and the emoluments of the clergy, small enough since the dissolution of the monasteries, had suffered another lamentable diminution. Parochial schools were needed, and could not be established, because most of the land-owning gentry had been reduced to poverty and impotence by fines and confiscations. The clergy were poor and ill-equipped by training and education on account of the Puritan strictures.

The brief rule of Richard Cromwell and the restored Rump ended in absolute chaos and even comedy. Signs of reaction were visible in every part of the kingdom. Charles issued the Declaration of Breda, in which he promised "that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." A Convention Parliament met on April 25, 1660, and in less than a month the king was proclaimed with great solemnity, and the restoration of the monarchy was an accomplished fact. An Act was passed forthwith, restoring to their benefices all clergy who

had been deprived since the rebellion began. The representatives from Wales were members of Royalist families, or men who had changed sides. The old Parliamentary general, Sir Thomas Middleton, had received a pardon from Charles, and he was chosen for Denbighshire. William Glynne, who had been lord chief justice under the protectorate, and one of the new peers, had now turned Royalist. Sir Hugh Owen of Orielton and Sir Richard Pryse had no hesitation about joining the winning side.

In October, Charles issued a Declaration of Indulgence with concessions to the Puritans. This was brought before Parliament in the form of a bill, and was rejected by the Commons. This attitude of the Commons fairly represented the national temper. The new Parliament which assembled in May, 1661, had no need to consider the Presbyterians and sectaries, who were in a hopeless minority. All the Welsh members were full-blooded Cavaliers, and among them was Rowland Laugharne, once a Parliamentary general in South Wales. These were the people who passed the Act of Uniformity, which was to come into operation on St. Bartholomew's day, Aug. 24, 1662.

A most indefatigable modern historian has collected a very instructive list of all the ejected ministers in Wales.[1] 25 were turned out by the king in 1660 as usurpers. 38 were ejected or removed to another sphere on submitting to ordination, and the old clergy were restored. 23 appear to have been dispossessed by private patrons in 1660 and 1661. Many of these afterwards conformed. 21 Puritan ministers conformed,

[1] *Religious Development in Wales.*—T. Richards, M.A.

and were confirmed in their livings in 1660, and among them were Randolph Davies of Meifod and the renowned Jenkin Lloyd of Llangoedmor. 14 conformed in 1660 and 1661, and were moved to another living. 8 were re-admitted to their old parishes in 1662. The names of those who definitely refused to submit to the Act of Uniformity number 34, and we find in the list such names as Barnes, Blindman, Bywater. Carver, Cary, Dennis, French, Hawkins, Littleton, Luntley, Steele, Walter, Fogg, Higgs, Rushworth, Swaine, Taylor, etc. Some of the ejected ministers have a very curious history. Dr. John Conant was appointed by the triers to the living of Abergele. He was rector of Exeter College, Oxford, regius professor of divinity, and a painstaking London preacher. There is no evidence that he knew any Welsh. Francis Howell was appointed to Llanrhaiadr in Mochnant by the triers, and was succeeded by Bishop George Griffith in 1660. Howell was the principal of Jesus College, Oxford, where he had to fight for his rights against the claims of Michael Roberts, a former principal. Howell was a native of Cornwall, and quite ignorant of the Welsh language. The exact position of Charles Edwards is not quite clear. His name is not found among the ejected, and the probability is that he was the acting minister at Llanrhaiadr under Howell. The answer of Bishop George Griffith to Archbishop Sheldon's inquiry in 1665 as to the number of Nonconformist or ejected ministers in his diocese, is equally perplexing. The bishop's answer was: "I do not know of any such in this diocese of St. Asaph." Some ministers had been ejected, notably Ambrose Mostyn, before Bartholomew's day, and these had either conformed or left the diocese.

On his ejection from Wrexham, Mostyn migrated to Oxfordshire, where he became domestic chaplain to Lord Saye and Sele. Many of the Puritan schoolmasters conformed and became vicars of parishes, as in the case of Roger Seyes appointed to Llangyfelach, Philip Lewis presented by the king to the rectory of Presteign, and Maurice Meredith raised to the vicarage of Llanelly.[1] Of the ministers who declined to submit, the most prominent were Jenkin Jones, Ambrose Mostyn, Samuel Jones, and Stephen Hughes.

The life story of Henry Maurice is peculiar. He was a native of Carnarvonshire, and matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, in 1652. He had an amazing career. Even after his entering the Puritan ministry, we learn from his own diary that his moral character was far from blameless. He was appointed to Criccieth by the triers. At the Restoration he conformed, and was transferred to Meyllteyrn in 1661. Accused by the bishop of Bangor of " non-residence " in his parish, he was dispossessed, and a new incumbent was admitted to that benefice. Maurice migrated to England, and became vicar of Broomfield, near Ludlow, moving afterwards to Church Stretton. Here he got into debt, and got dissatisfied with the order of the Church of England. About 1666 he left Church Stretton and settled at Shrewsbury. In 1672 he returned to Wales, first to Abergavenny, then to Llanigon, near Hay, as the Independent pastor of the scattered Puritan remnants. He occasionally practised physic, and had a good deal to do with unearthing the poems of Vicar Prichard.[2] This extraordinary man died in 1682. We

[1] Bishop's Certificates (St. Davids), 1664–5.

[2] *Wales in the Seventeenth Century*, 163.—J. C. Morrice.

are particularly grateful to him for supplying us with information relative to the strength of Dissent in Wales, fifteen years after the Restoration. In 1675, Maurice compiled "a catalogue of all the congregated churches in the counties of Wales," which was sent to Edward Terril of Bristol.[1] The list with the names of ministers and deacons is very important, as the work of a contemporary witness who was well informed.

According to this catalogue there was no dissenting congregation in Anglesey "in these late times." Breconshire had one at Llanigon, where Maurice himself ministered, and two small parties of rigid Baptists. Cardigansihre had "but one entire church in it," and that was at Llanbadarn Fawr, it was of the Independent order, but there was a party of Baptists in another part of the county. In Carmarthenshire there was "one Independent Church," of which Stephen Hughes was in charge, and two more belonging to the Baptists. In Carnarvonshire the only "gathered church" met at Llanarmon and Llangybi, due to the labour of John Williams.[2] In Denbighshire there was an Independent congregation at Wrexham with a few Baptists, and a Presbyterian meeting at Denbigh. Flintshire had "no professing people in all these late times." Glamorganshire had "gathered churches" at Merthyr, Swansea, and Cadoxton-juxta-Neath, all of them Independent, with several scattered Baptists inhabiting Gower land and the borders of Carmarthenshire: also a "gathered church" of Baptists at Llantrisant, and a Presbyterian congregation under Samuel Jones at Llangynwyd. In Merionethshire "the few professing people" had most

[1] Broadmead Records.

[2] Appointed to Llanbeblig in 1651 and ejected in 1661.

of them "turned Quakers, and so continue," but Hugh Owen was striving to gather an Independent congregation, notwithstanding "the new crew of Quakers aforesaid." In Monmouthshire, Wroth's old church at Llanvaches had split into two; the one at Magor was Independent, but the one at Llangwm had turned Baptist: there was another "gathered church" of Independents at Mynyddislwyn, and another at Llanwenarth, "wholly consisting of Baptists." Vavasor Powell had worked in Montgomeryshire, but in 1675 there were only scattered remnants of his congregation, and these were "Baptists in judgment for the most part." In Pembrokeshire there was only one church extant at this time," which had been gathered by Peregrine Phillips in and about Haverfordwest, and this was in a weak state on account of the Quakers, but a small company had been lately formed in the north of the county by a James Davies, "a moderate Presbyterian for anything I know." In Radnorshire, Cradock and Powell had gathered a church, "a remnant whereof remaineth until this day," consisting partly of Independents and partly of Baptists; and in New Radnor a congregation had been lately drawn together by a Presbyterian. Such is the account given of dissent in 1675 by a competent judge. It supplies a sufficient evidence to show that dissent at this time was weak, and in a paralyzed condition. The Church was weak also, crippled, wounded, and in a dazed condition. We have contemporary evidence of the miserable state of the churches in Wales, in the presentments made at the beginning of the reign of Charles II.

The Episcopal Returns of 1676 show that there were 4221 sectaries in Wales, including 28 in a part of the

diocese of Hereford. It is a very curious fact that they were far more numerous in the diocese of St. Davids than in the other dioceses. There were as many as 2398 in St. Davids, and only 643 in St. Asaph. It is surprising that the labours of Mostyn, Llwyd, Charles Edwards, and others in Denbighshire, had ended with but few followers in 1676. Thomas Rees was certain that the number of Nonconformists could not have been under 15,000 or 16,000,[1] but this was a pure guess, based on no substantial evidence. The latest attempt by Lyon Turner to get at the approximate number, by making each conventicle it represent 200, is equally conjectural and unfortunate.[2]

That the Welsh bishops, urged by Archbishop Sheldon, set themselves to the difficult task of re-organising their impoverished dioceses, is abundantly proved by the records. In his reply to Sheldon's circular of 1670, William Lucy of St. Davids enumerates the sums of money expended since the Restoration on repairs. £1500 was expended on St. Davids Cathedral, the prebends' houses, and the bishop's quarters. He gave £100 to the relief of the children of Theophilus Field, a former bishop. At Brecon he had put the collegiate church, which was in a ruinous state, in good repair. He enumerates his other good works, and then exclaims—"These things have been done by him who is the poorest bishop this day in England and Wales." Similar restorations were carried on in the other dioceses. St. Asaph's Cathedral needed £2000 for its repair, and Llandaff £1760. Sums of money were also set

[1] *History of Prot. Nonconformity*, 176.
[2] Original Record, III., 113.

aside, in obedience to Sheldon's orders, for the augmentation of poor benefices. In a large number of cases the local clergymen in poor parishes kept a school, but their salaries depended very largely on the income arising from the original benefactions, and were small when compared with the provisions made for their Puritan predecessors. Meredith Penry kept a school at Brecon, John Williams kept a school at Laugharne, John Owen at St. Davids, Nicholas Bevans at Haverfordwest, Mordecai Matthews at Reynoldston, Rice Powell at Boughrood.

William Lucy was bishop of St. Davids from 1660 to 1677. In the presentments at his first Visitation we read of churches and churchyard walls in a lamentable state of decay.[1] There are such entries as these :— "We doe present that our parish church is out of repaire, and fallen down since the foure and twentieth day of June in the yeare of Our Lord, 1658 :" "The font, bells, doores, and all things belonging to the Church are out of repaire and quite decayed :" "The steeple and bells are out of repaire, and the windows unglazed :" "We present the rope of the bell to be wanting, and we want a beire and a homily book." "We present the door of the church to be out of repair, and the windows out of repair :" "There is no communion cup and flagon :" "We present the defect of a Welsh Byble, alsoe the English Byble to be out of repaire."

The Church suffered from the bane of pluralism, in some cases due to the poverty of the benefices, and from the undisguised nepotism of some of the bishops.

[1] Printed in the *Transactions* of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society.

William Lucy of St. Davids was a serious offender. His son Richard held several preferments. His son Robert was registrar of the diocese and public notary. His son Spencer was treasurer of the Cathedral, with a prebendal stall, and vicar of Penbryn in Cardiganshire. The successor of George Griffith at St. Asaph was Henry Glemham, who, if Pepys can be relied on, was quite unworthy of his high office. He obtained his preferment through feminine influence at Court. The case of William Nicholson is a glaring instance of pluralism and non-residence. Though bishop of Gloucester he continued to hold the vicarage of Llandilo Fawr, a canonry at St. Davids, and the archdeaconry of Brecon. It is not surprising that some of the Breconshire clergy refused to pay the visitation fees of an archdeacon who did not visit.

When William Lloyd took up his duties at St. Asaph, he found that a Thomas Clopton, a nephew of his predecessor, had been given a prebend, two sinecures, and the rectory of Castell Caereinion. His parishioners at Castell were Welsh. Clopton endeavoured to preach in that language, but no one could understand him. The new bishop took up the matter forthwith, and Clopton was given the alternative of learning the language or resign his cure. But instead of devoting himself to linguistic pursuits, Clopton succeeded in obtaining the benefice of Malpas, and sought to retain Castell with it. In the latter project he was forestalled by the bishop. Edward Morus, Lloyd's contemporary, calls him a *Cymreigydd cu*,[1] and the statement of Richard Morris of Anglesey, who lived eighty years later, that he was

[1] J. C. Morrice's *Wales in the Seventeenth Century*, 276.

ignorant of Welsh, is not supported by the known facts.

By section 27 of the Act of Uniformity, a translation of the Prayer Book[1] into "the Brittish or Welsh tonge" was ordered, and entrusted to "the Bishop of Hereford, Saint Davids, Asaph, Bangor, and Landaff." Every church and chapel throughout the Principality, where Welsh was commonly spoken, was to possess a copy before May 1, 1665. The translation was prepared and was published in 1664. It is thought that George Griffith, bishop of St. Asaph, was mainly responsible for this revised edition of the Welsh Prayer Book.[2] As early as 1640, he had brought forward a motion in Convocation for a new edition of the Welsh Church Bible.[3] He had the honour of being selected by Convocation in 1661 as one of three bishops who were to draw up a Form of Service for the "Public Baptism of such as are of Riper Years," which was to be included in the forthcoming revised issue of the English Book of Common Prayer. The Welsh Prayer Book of 1664 contained, for the first time in Welsh, the offices for the Consecration of Bishops, and the Ordination of Priests, and the Making of Deacons. The Royal and Occasional Services, as well as the new form for the Baptism of Adults, appeared for the first time, but the Canons and Articles of Religion were omitted. The Articles, which had been translated before the Civil War by Dr. John Davies, were now printed as a separate volume, with the imprimatur of George Griffith. William Roberts, bishop of Bangor, was now a very old

[1] It was a revised translation.

[2] *History of the Welsh Book of Common Prayer*, I., XXI.—Archdeacon A. O. Evans.

[3] *Church History*, III., 459.—Thomas Fuller.

man, having been appointed to the bishopric by Laud in 1637. As bishop he was a generous benefactor to the cathedral of Bangor.

Apart from Griffith and Roberts, there were at least four notable Welsh bishops during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. These were William Lloyd of Llandaff, William Thomas of St. Davids, William Lloyd of St. Asaph, and Humphrey Humphreys of Bangor. William Lloyd, known as the nonjuring bishop of Norwich, was undoubtedly a Welsh-speaking bishop. He was a son of Edward Lloyd, rector of Llangower, Merionethshire, and received his education at St. John's College, Cambridge. He is described by Evelyn in 1676 as "late curate of Deptford, now bishop of Llandaff," and he says of a sermon preached by him in 1678 before the king, "I never heard a more Christian and excellent discourse."[1] When his services were so much needed in the Church in Wales, this earnest man was translated to Peterborough, to be succeeded by William Beaw, an apathetic Englishman, who held the see for 27 years, while residing at the vicarage of Adderbury, Oxfordshire, and who died at the age of 90 in 1705–6. James Harries, vicar of Llantrisant, and a correspondent of the Society of Christian Knowledge, states in a letter written in 1700 that the bishop was very old and non-resident, and that he had not held an ordination or confirmation for several years. He entreats the society to bring the matter before the archbishop. We know of nothing that Bishop Beaw did for the diocese. From Peterborough Lloyd was again translated to Norwich in 1685. For refusing to take the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary he was

[1] Evelyn's Diary, 374.

deprived of his bishopric. He became a leader of the nonjurors, and resisted every effort to heal the schism. After his death in 1710, more moderate counsels prevailed, and the nonjurors returned to communion with their brethren in the churches.

William Thomas belonged to a Carmarthenshire family, and received his early education at Carmarthen, under Morgan Owen, afterwards bishop of Llandaff. He entered St. John's College, Oxford, in 1629, and became fellow and tutor of Jesus in 1634. He obtained the benefice of Penbryn, Cardiganshire, and also the benefice of Laugharne in 1638. He was deprived of Penbryn in 1644. At the Restoration he was re-instated and appointed chantor of St. Davids. In 1665, he became dean of Worcester. From 1677 to 1783 he was bishop of St. Davids. He did much to help the Church in Welsh-speaking parishes, frequently preaching in Welsh, and he helped to bring out the 1677 edition of the Bible. In 1683 he was translated to Worcester. These translations are surpassing strange. Here was a thoroughly efficient Welsh bishop translated to the English diocese of Worcester, to be succeeded by a thoroughly inefficient Englishman, Laurence Womack, in the Welsh diocese of St. Davids. Bishop Thomas joined the nonjuring bishops in 1689, and died soon afterwards before his deprivation.

William Lloyd of St. Asaph was the son of the Rev. Richard Lloyd of Henblas, Anglesey, and was born in 1627 at Tilehurst in Berkshire, where his father was vicar. He received his education at Oriel College, Oxford, and became a fellow of Jesus. He conformed during the Commonwealth, and received from the triers, in 1654, the benefice of Bradfield in Berkshire,

but he became a chaplain to the king in 1666, and was preferred to the archdeaconry of Merioneth a little later. He was promoted to the deanery of Bangor in 1672, and held the benefice of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, in London, at the same time. In 1680 he received the bishopric of St. Asaph. His name is frequently mentioned in Evelyn's diary, as a prominent man in London society. At his first coming to his diocese he resolved to do what he could to conciliate Dissenters by reasoning with them. He publicly discoursed with the Quakers at Llanfyllin, and with the prominent Independents, James Owen and Philip Henry, in the Town Hall at Oswestry. The bishop remained on friendly terms with his opponents, but failed to convince them by reasoning. He was one of the seven bishops who were imprisoned in the tower for refusing to read James II.'s Declaration. In 1692 he was translated to Lichfield, and again to Worcester in 1699, and died at a great age in 1717. Thus he lived through all the changes and turmoil of the seventeenth century, and saw George I. established on the throne. He was a well-known scholar, and an author of repute. The 1690 edition of the Welsh Bible was known as "Bishop Lloyd's Bible." What part he took in editing this edition has never been made quite clear. It is said that the work was supervised by Pierce Lewis, a distinguished scholar and rector of Llanfachreth in Anglesey;[1] and yet it is scarcely conceivable that it would have been called "Bishop Lloyd's Bible" unless he had much to do with its publication.

Humphrey Humphreys, bishop of Bangor from 1689 to 1701, was a notable Welshman. He was a native of Merioneth, born in 1648, and received his education

[1] *Wales in the Seventeenth Century*, 118.—J. C. Morrice.

at Oswestry, Bangor, and Jesus College, Oxford, of which he became a fellow. He received preferments in his native county, became dean of Bangor, and later bishop of the most distinctly Welsh diocese in Wales. Bishop Humphreys was well versed in the history and antiquities of Wales, and the patron of such Welsh writers as Ellis Wynne, Samuel Williams, Edward Llwyd, Edward Samuel, and others. In fact he was the inspirer of a revival in Welsh religious literature, and assisted the efforts of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. This good man, when his services were so much needed in a Welsh diocese, was translated to Hereford in 1701.

The Welsh bishops of the Restoration were devoted and energetic men. Hugh Lloyd was appointed to Llandaff, and he was succeeded by Francis Davies. Both had suffered much during the Commonwealth, and both did much to restore the Church services in the diocese. Francis Davies founded a library at Llandaff, and gave it many works.[1] William Lloyd, his successor, carried on the work with vigour. Then a long period of inactivity followed. The next bishop was William Beaw, who was an absentee for twenty-seven years. He was followed by sixteen English bishops, who held the see in succession until the year 1883. The most notorious of them, and perhaps the ablest, was Richard Watson, who remained an absentee bishop on his estate in Westmorland for thirty-four years. Wales was regarded as far removed by its language and hills from London life. Usually, only a second or third rate dignitary would accept a Welsh bishopric. There

[1] *History and Survey of Llandaff Cathedral*, 15.—John H. James.

were some very notable exceptions, such as William Beveridge and George Bull, Benjamin Hoadly and Richard Watson, but Beveridge and Bull were quite old men who had acquired a great reputation as English clergymen before they became Welsh bishops, and Hoadly and Watson never lived in their dioceses. The case of Thomas Watson, who was appointed bishop of St. Davids by James II., is somewhat unique. He was deposed for simony and corruption. Burnet, who sat on the commission which deprived him, speaks of him as having wickedly disgraced his sacred profession.[1] That he was a victim of non-residents[2] is conceivable. He was certainly a Jacobite, and it is possible that he had given a secret pledge to James to promote the Catholic interest. We have some other side views of his character from contemporary letters. Arnold Bowen of Whitland, writing in March, 1699, to the Society of Christian Knowledge, declares that the clergy had met at Haverfordwest and had formed themselves into a society, though some held back for want of a mandate from the bishop, who "had rather discouraged piety by ridiculing their monthly lecture." Thomas Thomas, vicar of Carmarthen, in a letter written in May, 1701, was pleased to say that the state of religion was very much "mended," and that there were "no discouragements, but the want of a good bishop."

The evil example of the idle, cynical, voluptuous Charles II., and his immoral court, spread like a plague into the lordly palaces of the nobility, and it penetrated into the halls of the gentry and the homesteads of farmers. It led to indifference and worldliness on the

[1] Burnet's *Own Times*, 658.

[2] *History of St. David's*, 333, Freeman and Jones.

part of the clergy who depended on the smiles of the magnates. The country squires spent the Lord's day in revelry and drunkenness, and the clergy of Wales were too abjectly poor to raise their voices, unsupported by the hierarchy, against the vices of their powerful parishioners.

But the Romanising policy of James II. united all parties in support of the Church. Impropriators of tithes and Church lands were not certain what would happen to their acquired possessions if papal rule was re-established. Dissenters fully understood that the overthrow of the Church would lead ultimately to their absolute extinction. The landing of the prince of Orange in Nov., 1688, therefore, was hailed with rejoicing by the Dissenters of England and Wales. James Owen of Oswestry, an active Nonconformist and the head of a school for training ministers, refers to the event as the direct interposition of the Lord. "The storm that threatened us was universal, and no place like to be safe; the power of the enemy reached to the very ends of the earth. If we fled to Holland, alas! they were but a morsel to the French tyrant. Scotland was enslaved. Ireland in possession of a bloody, barbarous people, that wanted neither power, nor hereditary inclination, to bathe themselves in Protestant blood." The Church leaders by their doctrine of divine right and non-resistance had rendered James II.'s efforts to restore the Roman Church almost possible, but when they saw that their doctrine was turned like a two-edged sword upon themselves, they discarded their doctrine and ousted the king. The revolution produced a better feeling between Churchmen and Nonconformists. The penal laws were relaxed, and a

proposal for a toleration was taken up. No one offered any serious opposition, with the result that the Act of Toleration received the royal assent in May, 1689. The Welsh Nonconformists immediately began to erect places of worship, chiefly in the counties of Glamorgan and Carmarthen. But Dissent was still very unpopular in Wales, and James Owen was treated very roughly at Ruthin and Wrexham.

During the reign of William and Mary, Dissenters were encouraged and fostered by the Whigs. They had become before the end of the reign of Queen Anne a political party, which could not be ignored. Anxious to impress the legislators of the day with their numbers and voting strength, John Evans, a London minister, was appointed to collect " the statistics of the Nonconforming congregations throughout England and Wales." A certain Charles Lloyd of Breconshire sent up the returns for North and South Wales, and a Joseph Stennett did likewise for Monmouthshire. The list cannot be accepted as a trustworthy historical evidence of the strength of Dissent in Wales. John Evans described the Dissenting adherents by the comprehensive term " hearers," but when Thomas Rees brought out his work on " Protestant Nonconformity," the " hearers " were converted into " average attendance."[1] The " hearers " or " average attendance " in several districts must have outnumbered the whole population. We are asked to believe that the " average attendance " at Mynyddislwyn was 1000, and that in this large congregation or congregations there were " 126 yeomen, 54 tradesmen, 98 farmers, 113 labourers, 123 votes for Monmouthshire, 1 for Glamorganshire, and 26 for the

[1] *Tadau Methodistaidd*, I., 16.—Rev. J. Morgan Jones.

borough of Monmouth." At Llanavan and Llanwrtyd, a sparsely populated district, the "hearers" or "average attendance" are stated to be 800, with "30 voters." The list made by John Evans and his friends is flatly contradicted by a list drawn up about the same time by another Nonconformist. This was drawn up by Daniel Neal, the author of the *History of the Puritans*.[1] According to John Evans' list, the "hearers" at Wrexham in 1715 numbered 230 with "20 tradesmen, 20 votes for the county, and 3 for the borough"; but in that particular year several Dissenting chapels were demolished, and among them the chapel at Wrexham "by the tradesmen and the principal inhabitants of the town." The rioting went on for a whole week, and the rioters "pulled down the pulpit and pews, and threw them into a pool, broke down the door, and shattered the windows."[2] The chapel at Llanfyllin was utterly demolished by a large crowd, and the astounding part of the business is that the chapels at Wrexham and Llanfyllin were afterwards restored at the expense of the State.

If we consider the figures supplied twenty-seven years later by Edmund Jones, a leading Nonconformist Minister of Pontypool, we find, assuming that the former lists were somewhere near the mark, an extraordinary diminution in the strength of Dissent. These figures appeared in an article in the *Glasgow Weekly History* in 1742. There was no Dissenting congregation in Anglesey, only one in Carnarvonshire, one in Merioneth, one in Flintshire, three in Denbighshire, five in Montgomeryshire. In South Wales, Dissent was

[1] *History of Dissenters*, II., 97—Bogue and Bennett.

[2] Diary of Rev. John Kenrick, the minister at Wrexham.

stronger. Many of the congregations were small and scattered, but there were eight of various sorts in Radnorshire, ten in Cardiganshire, about fifteen in Carmarthenshire, over twenty in Glamorganshire, eight weak congregations in Breconshire with some Baptist, thirteen in Monmouthshire. In 1741, Edmund Jones wrote in a letter to Howell Harris, "I wish some of the sound Dissenting ministers separated from the erroneous and loose Dissenters; but perhaps it will come to that. Both the ministers of Penmaen deny that there is any need of discipline among them, and call my attempts at discipline by the opprobrious names of rigid, punctilious, and novel customs."[1] It is obvious that dissent had lost its spiritual vitality, and Howell Harris had no better name to give to Dissenters than *Sentars Sych*. A little earlier, about 1734, a young man from South Wales, named Lewis Rees, went to Montgomeryshire to build up a Dissenting congregation at Llanbrynmair. At that time the Nonconformists had only six places of worship in the whole of North Wales. There were two at Wrexham, one at Llanfyllin, one at Denbigh, one at Newmarket, and one at Pwllheli.[2] Four years later, in 1738, the Visitation returns of the diocese of St. Asaph[3] show that there were only 223 persons who described themselves as Presbyterians or Independents, and only 4 Baptists, in the whole diocese. The congregations, apparently, at Wrexham, Llanfyllin, Denbigh, and Newmarket, if these returns can be regarded as trustworthy evidence, were small, for these places were in the diocese of St. Asaph.

[1] *Life of Howell Harris*, 178.—H. T. Hughes.
[2] *Hanes Crefydd*, 276.—David Peter.
[3] *Landmarks of the Church*, 186.—Edwards.

It seems fairly clear that Dissent in Wales had very little spiritual force at the beginning of the eighteenth century. How about the Church? Its spiritual vitality had sunken very low. It was affected on the one side by the deistic controversy, the apathy of the hierarchy, the non-residence of incumbents, the poverty of the clergy. It was affected on the other side by the profaneness and irreligion of the landed proprietors, who swaggered into their curtained pews, with nothing but broken benches on unpaved floors, or unsightly galleries, for the ordinary worshippers. The presentments of churchwardens in 1705, at the primary visitation of George Bull, bishop of St. Davids, who succeeded the notorious Thomas Watson, are of considerable value as showing the state of the churches at the beginning of the 18th century. We shall give a few instances from parishes in the county of Carmarthen only.[1]

At Abergwili, where the bishop resided, "the church roof was out of repair, and some of the walls and windows," but the churchyard was decently kept and fenced. The minister, who had another benefice, resided in the parish. He was sober and studious. There was an assembly of Dissenters, a free school, but no reputed Papists. At Cilycwm there was "a Quaker's Meeting." At Kidwelly the parish church is said to be in good repair, but "the spire had long since been shattered by lightning," and there was no font. The minister constantly resided in the parish, and there was a school with a schoolmaster not yet licensed. "We have not any Dissenters in town or parish." The churchwardens of Laugharne present, "The walls, windows, and ye

[1] Printed in the *Transactions* of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society, XXX—XXXII.

church floor in indifferent repair ; the bells much out of repair." The minister was resident, though he held another benefice. A school was kept within the parish. There were Dissenters but no Papists. At Llanarthney the church is said to be in good repair. " Our vicar hath a curate to supply his absence." At Llanddarog another rural parish, it is maintained that " the church is in sufficient repair." The minister was resident, and administered " the Lord's Supper frequently." " We have no assembly of Dissenters in our parish, and no Papists." The state of things at the impropriated parish of Llanddowror in 1705, a few years before Griffith Jones made it the centre of a religious revival, was very far from satisfactory. There was no chalice and no flagon, no pulpit cloth, and no parchment book, no resident minister, no box to receive the alms for the the poor, and no Dissenters. At Llandilo, a market town, where William Nicholson laboured, and where Jeremy Taylor bought the necessaries of life for several years, there were " breaches in the glass of the windows." Dr. Bevan, the vicar, " having no vicarage house," did not reside, leaving the cure to be served by a curate. At Llandovery, another market town, where Rhys Prichard, the famous religious poet, laboured, until his death in 1644, the church was in a fair state of repair, and the minister, though beneficed elsewhere, resided in the parish, and celebrated " ye Lord's Supper thrice every year." There was a school. The churchwardens of Llanedy present " the rector of our parish for that he doth not reside in ye parish, and in the parsonage house of ye same." This man kept no curate, and the parishioners were " often enforced to bury their dead by laymen." The sexton is presented

because he could not read and sing the Psalms in English. At Llanegwad the church was in a satisfactory state of repair, with a fair font of stone, parchment book, and a non-resident vicar, who kept "a curate to supply ye cure to our contentment, and doth allow him a competent salary to our knowledge." There was no assembly of Dissenters, and no Papists. At Llanelly the church and windows and floors were out of repair. There was no flagon "for the use of the Sacrament," and no biers for funerals. The minister of Llangendeirne had no glebe but a small stipend. He had no other benefice or cure. He celebrated the Sacrament on the high festivals and at "All Saints, if such a number of communicants be had as is required by ye rubrick." There was no assembly of Dissenters, but there was a certain Presbyterian who would not have his children baptized after the appointed form. A private school was kept by a certain person. The vicar of Mydrim had another parish, and of him it is said, "he doth in both preach and officiate himself every Lord's day when in health, and is seldom or never absent." His salary, however, was "very backwardly and slowly paid by ye tenant of ye prebend." There was a school since 1661 or thereabouts, and it was conducted by "the vicar and his substitutes." Llangain appears to have been well served, and the minister is described as "a studious painstaking man, a person of sober life and unblemished character," who preached every Lord's Day, and administered the Holy Sacrament monthly. It is a pity the writer thought fit to add, "We are sure his life and conversation is worthy of your Lordship's approbation." Llangennech had no chalice and no flagon, and "we do want decent seats in

our church." The windows wanted glazing, and the churchyard walls were out of repair. "A Welsh Great Bible, an English Common Prayer, Homily Books, and Books to keep ye Wardens' Accounts and Briefs, etc., are wanted." There were two acres of glebe land adjacent to the churchyard belonging to the minister. These were withheld from him by the farmers of the tithe. These same offenders had not paid towards the minister's pension the sum of twenty nobles "for two years last past." The presentment of the churchwardens of the parish of Llannon is suggestive. The minister is presented for non-residence, "which we know not how to redress, his salary being so small." We have here a very distinct reference to the activity of Dissenters—"Our parish is thick with Dissenters, who absent themselves from church and keep a meeting at a place called Llwydcoed, under ye pastoral care of one David Penry." The minister of Llansadwrn had another benefice, and he was "often absent, sometimes for a month, sometimes longer; the church is provided in his absence to our content." In this case "the curate of ye parish keeps a school in ye church." Of the vicar of Llansawel it is said, "Our minister hath no other benefice to the best of our knowledge; he does not preach every Lord's Day, but does officiate." At Llanybyther the impropriator had allowed the chancel to be in a bad state of repair. There was a school, and the minister personally served the cure. Pembrey Church was quite out of repair, as well as the churchyard wall. In St. Clears there were schools kept, and no assembly of Dissenters. This is very surprising. In a presentment for 1717, it is said that there was no reputed Papist in the parish, "neither have we any

contention or strife, nor any misbehaving or disorder done by anyone in our church." The account given of Talley, famous in medieval times for its great abbey, is interesting. "Our parish church is part of a demolished monastery, the walls and the roof thereof are not in good repair, the windows have had no glass on them in our memory. They are so very large, and too chargeable for our small parish to keep them glazed." "We have no chalice or flagon, but what the impropriator provides when need requires." The minister was resident in the parish, and had no other cure, but there was "no house belonging to ye church." These returns, when taken together, enable us to form an opinion as to the state of religion in the county of Carmarthen at the beginning of the eighteenth century. These returns are supplemented by other accounts, which prove that the Church was in a maimed and depressing condition in other parts of Wales. A document drawn up by Bishop Fleetwood in 1712 shows that in the diocese of St. Asaph, supposed to be the richest, there were 4 benefices under £10 a year. In Bangor there were 10 under £10 a year. In St. Davids there were 62, and in Llandaff 7. In the four Welsh dioceses taken together there were 324 livings of under £30 a year. In 1721, Dr. Erasmus Saunders published a treatise with the title, *A View of the State of Religion in the Diocese of St. Davids at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century*. Saunders, who was the second son of Tobias Saunders of Clunyfelin,[1] in North Pembrokeshire, was born in 1670. He was educated at Jesus College, Oxford, and became vicar of Blockley, Worcester.

[1] *West Wales Historical Records*, II., 178.

In his youth he had lived in a district where nearly all the churches had lost their endowments at the dissolution of the monasteries, and he writes, "Not only the bells are taken away, but the towers are demolished, and in many others there are scarce any seats, excepting here and there a few ill-contrived and broken stools and benches; their little windows are without glass, and darkened with boards, matts, or lettices; their roofs decaying, tottering, and leaky; their walls green, mouldy, and nauseous." Two or three chapelries, which were used as barns in his time, such as Kylvawyr, Castellan, and Mynydd Llechryd, have utterly disappeared. Impropriations, depredations, non-residence, pluralities, and the enactments of Parliament, were bearing their full bitter fruit at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the ancient Church in Wales, efficient and wealthy in pre-Reformation times, had been reduced into a state verging upon impotency.

CHAPTER VIII.

A Religious and Educational Movement.

WHEN the gloom of the reigns of the last two Stuarts had passed away, the work of reparation was seriously begun. William III., it is true, was a Dutch Calvinist, and bishoprics were given only to those who were Whig in politics and latitudinarian in their religious views, but a strong revival was making itself felt in the Church everywhere in spite of an unsympathetic government. Two great societies were founded in this reign, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, but the fear of France and of papal Rome dominated people's minds for a considerable number of years. James II. died in September, 1701, and three days later Louis XIV. acknowledged his son, James Edward, as king of England. British patriotism was roused, and the country prepared for war. In Feb., 1702, King William died, and it was left to Marlborough to conduct the campaigns, which ended in the humiliation of France, and the removal of the danger of an immediate Stuart restoration. The hopes of the papacy for the conversion of England and Wales, and the restoration of the exiled prince, were shattered on the fields of Blenheim, Ramillies, and Oudenarde. Louis XIV. of France lived long enough to see the failure of all his plans, and his subjects driven to despair. The accession of Queen Anne was hailed

with joy by Welsh Churchmen.[1] The queen was a devout Churchwoman, and promoted to ecclesiastical dignity those who were eminent for their piety, learning, and zeal for the Church. Her court was an example of virtue unknown in the time of her predecessors, and the restitution by the queen of Firstfruits and Tenths was an inestimable boon to the whole Church. Many Churches in Wales were restored during her reign, and much activity was displayed. The Welsh bishops of Anne's reign were eminent men and excellent pastors, and in their attitude towards the Welsh language they adhered to the policy of Laud and their predecessors. Beveridge of St. Asaph was an ornament to the whole Church. He revived the custom of public catechizing, and published an exposition on the Catechism for the use of the clergy.[2] This work was translated into Welsh in 1707. William Fleetwood was a bishop of great energy and earnestness, and in his charge to the clergy urged them to preach and catechize on the Sundays and holy days.[3] George Bull, bishop of St. Davids, and the most distinguished theologian of his time, recommended to the clergy the Welsh version of the *Whole Duty of Man*, and requested them to promote the sale of the Welsh Prayer Book among the parishioners. Bishop Ottley devoted himself whole-heartedly to his episcopal duties. The more we study him in the light of contemporary documents, the higher he rises among the prelates who came after him.[4] The bishops co-operated to bring out a new edition of the Welsh

[1] Ellis Wynne's *Bardd Cwsg* (1702).
[2] *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, 129.—D. R. Thomas.
[3] *The Bishop of St. Asaph's Charge*, 1710.
[4] *West Wales Historical Records*, IV., 280.

Bible, and a circular was issued in 1714, signed by the bishop of Bangor (John Evans), the bishop of Llandaff (John Tylor), the bishop of St. Asaph (William Fleetwood), the bishop of Hereford (Philip Bisse), the bishop of St. Davids (Adam Ottley), and the bishop of Worcester (William Lloyd). The bishops assert that "there are in the four Welsh dioceses upwards of five hundred parishes, in which the generality of the people understood no other language." The poverty of the Church in Wales is referred to as follows: "There being so many *sinecures* and impropriations, and the provision for the incumbent or curate so very small in some places, that the allowances for several churches will scarce afford a maintenance for one man." It was proposed to publish a new edition of the Welsh Bible, and a new edition of the Prayer Book, "with the singing Psalms and the 39 Articles annexed." The bishops not only encouraged this good undertaking with their own subscriptions, but earnestly recommended it "to the clergy, gentlemen, and other well-disposed persons" in their respective dioceses. The appeal proved successful, and a new edition of the Bible was brought out by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1717 and 1727, edited by Moses Williams, vicar of Llanwenog.

The Church in Wales is very much indebted to this venerable society. It was founded in March, 1698, by Lord Guildford, Sir Humphrey Mackworth, Judge Hook, Dr. Thomas Bray, and Colonel Colchester. It was joined during the following year by Sir John Philipps, of Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire. Bishop John Evans of Bangor and Bishop Humphreys of Hereford were active supporters of the society. But

the moving spirit for some years was Thomas Bray, one of the greatest benefactors the Church of England has ever seen. He was also the real founder of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which obtained its charter in 1701.[1]

The secession of the non-jurors did not directly affect the Church in Wales, but the wave of infidelity, profaneness, and drunkenness, which oppressed England was very seriously felt. Sir John Philipps testified "I believe there has scarcely been an age, since the first publication of the Gospel, wherein men talked and wrote more irrationally on the subject of religion, and lived and acted more immorally, than at the present time." Correspondents to the S.P.C.K. in 1700 complain of the prevalence of "ignorance and ill-practice," "the corruption of the age," "the contempt of the clergy, occasioned by the small provision for them." But out of this darkness light began to shine. Good men were seeking means and ways to overcome this state of religious lethargy. Religious societies and Societies for the Reformation of Manners were founded, and these had branches in Wales. Thomas Thomas, vicar of Carmarthen, writing in 1700, says, "That the magistrates of the county had put the laws in execution against profaneness, etc., and wrought a visible reformation in the country." John Lloyd, a layman, writes, "that the proceedings of the Quarter Sessions have had a visible effect on the gentry." Religious societies also and schools were established in many parishes in the Principality. Robert Wynne, a Carnarvonshire rector, writes in 1699 that "the bishop of Bangor had

[1] *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 4.

given a strict charge to his clergy to meet frequently." John Jones, dean of Bangor, informs the society that he had set up schools at his own charge. John Davies of Bodelwyddan writes that "the clergy deemed it proper to remove their monthly lectures from place to place to receive the Sacrament." James Harries of Llantrisant, Glamorganshire, informs the society that he had "put up two schools and set up Catechetical Lectures in his parish." In 1700 he writes that "the design of this society was misrepresented by some officers of the Consistory Court of Llandaff." Arnold Bowen of Carmarthenshire reports in March, 1699, that most of the justices at Quarter Sessions subscribed towards the schools, and "doubts not of success if the next diocesan patronizes these designs."[1] By the year 1708 Sir John Philipps had set up several schools in Pembrokeshire, and Mr. Laugharne had set up three. James Harries complains in 1708 that the diction of the Welsh Prayer Book is faulty, and adds that the bishop of Hereford (Humphrey Humphreys) is preparing another edition. This revised edition was published in 1710, edited by Ellis Wynne of Lasynys, and in it appeared for the first time his majestic hymn, "*Myfi yw'r Adgyfodiad Mawr.*" William Lewis of Towyn, Merioneth, thanks the society for a packet of books and tracts, and says that a charity school has been set up at Towyn. Bray's lending libraries had, by this time, been established in the four Welsh dioceses. The clergy met together for mutual counsel and encouragement; charity schools were set up in many localities; the magistrates were using their authority

[1] Bishop Watson was deposed.

to put down profane practices; and rich people were subscribing towards the schools, Dr. John Jones, dean of Bangor from 1689 till his death in 1727, took the keenest interest in the spread of religious education. He left by will the sum of £50 each to seven parishes in Anglesey, the interest to be devoted towards instructing children to read the Bible and Prayer Book. He left a similar sum for similar purposes to two parishes in the county of Merioneth, and four sums of £100 each to be given among four parishes in the county of Carnarvon, the interest to be used to teach twelve poor children in each parish in the Bible and Prayer Book in Welsh, and to instruct them to some extent in writing and arithmetic. Edmund Meyricke, canon and treasurer of St. Davids Cathedral and vicar of Carmarthen, who died in 1713, founded scholarships at Jesus College, Oxford, and gave two houses and £22 a year towards maintaining a school at Carmarthen, where twenty poor children were educated and clothed.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, there were three centres of a remarkable literary and religious activity in Wales, and this movement had no direct connection with the activities of the London society. In the southern counties the centre was in the neighbourhood of Newcastle Emlyn and Carmarthen. Here lived Captain William Lewes, a book collector, author, traveller, and patron of young students; Samuel Williams, the vicar of Llangunllo, author of a concordance to the Bible, translator of several religious works, and a prose writer of distinction; Moses Williams, the son of Samuel Williams, educated at University College, Oxford, editor of the Welsh edition of the Bible in 1717 and

1727, translator and author of many books, a man of remarkable industry, sometime vicar of Devynock in Breconshire, afterwards vicar of St. Mary, Bridgewater, where he died in 1742; Griffith Jones, the renowned preacher and reformer, rector of Llanddowror, and the founder of the Welsh Circulating Schools; James Davies, known as Iago ap Dewi, who died in 1722, translator of works by Beveridge, Bunyan, and Webb, and the Catechism of Matthew Henry; Theophilus Evans, a brilliant prose writer, who composed, at the age of 21, a Welsh classic, entitled *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, published in 1715, vicar of Llangamarch, author of many books in English and Welsh; Alban Thomas, a country vicar, poet, and writer; James Owen, author and schoolmaster, Nonconformist minister at Oswestry, and a leader among the Independents; Enoch Francis, author, and an indefatigable Baptist minister. It is a fact worthy of note that the first printing press in Wales was set up at Newcastle Emlyn by Isaac Carter. He printed books from 1718 to 1724, when he moved to Carmarthen. Another printer of the name of Nicholas Thomas, who had learnt his trade at Shrewsbury, had settled at Carmarthen, and continued to issue publication until 1739. At Carmarthen itself was John Vaughan of Derllys, a country squire, distinguished for his religious zeal and charity, and the father of a more distinguished daughter, Madam Bevan. In the Grammar School of this town, Moses Williams, Griffith Jones, Theophilus Evans, Thomas Charles of Bala, and Peter Williams, received their early education.

The central figure of the renaissance in the diocese of Bangor was Bishop Humphreys. He was the patron of a group of well-known writers, foremost among

whom were Ellis Wynne, Edward Llwyd, and Edward Samuel. Ellis Wynne, born in 1671, was a man of ample means, and lived at Lasynys in Merionethshire. He was educated at Jesus College, Oxford, and in 1701 published an excellent translation of Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living*. In 1702 he published his masterpiece, admired as a Welsh classic ever since, called *Bardd Cwsg*. He was ordained at the age of thirty-three, in 1704, by Bishop Humphreys, and became vicar of his native parish. He was the editor of a revised edition of the Prayer Book in 1710. This loyal son of the Church died in 1732. Edward Llwyd was a notable Welsh scholar and philologist, born in 1660. Whilst an undergraduate at Jesus College, Oxford, he obtained the post of assistant at the Ashmolean Museum. He was appointed keeper in 1690, and this preferment gave him an opportunity to proceed with his researches into natural history and antiquities. He pursued his investigations in Wales, Ireland, Scotland, Cornwall, and Brittany. The *Archæologica Britannica*, which was published in 1707, was the result, and Llwyd was admitted a fellow of the Royal Society. A critical spirit in advance of his time, and a remarkably scientific method of treatment are apparent in the pages of this great work. Edward Samuel was a native of Carnarvonshire, a contemporary of Ellis Wynne, and a remarkably industrious Welsh clergyman. He was educated at Oriel College, Oxford, and ordained by Bishop Humphreys in 1697. He became vicar of Bettws, and afterwards of Llangar, where he died in 1748. He was an excellent translator, and his chief output in this direction were translations into Welsh of the *Truth of the Christian Religion* by Grotius,

the *Duties of a Christian* by Beveridge, the *Doctrine of the Church* by Archbishop Wake, and a new translation of the *Whole Duty of Man*. He was also an original writer, and published an *Account of the Apostles and Evangelists*. There were many good and devout clergymen in North Wales during the first half of the eighteenth century. William Wynn, Llangynhafal; Thomas Ellis, Holyhead; Chancellor Wynne, Gresford; Andrew Edwards, Dolgelley; Humphrey Jones, Llanfwrog; John Morgan, Llanfyllin; David Lloyd, Llangerniew, were men of outstanding ability. In 1723, a new free translation of *Imitatio Christi* appeared, by a master of Welsh prose who signed himself W.M., and his identity has not been clearly established. The name of William Meurick, rector of Llansantffraid in the vale of Conway, is strongly suggested.[1] Another excellent parish priest who laboured in the diocese of St. Asaph, and who belonged to this early period, was Thomas Williams of Denbigh. He published a translation of Sherlock's *Pious Thoughts*, Nelson's *Fasts and Festivals*, and several minor works. He was a graduate of Jesus College, Oxford, and vicar of Denbigh from 1697 to 1726. He maintained a school in his parish for poor children.

Another centre of activity was Shrewsbury, the old capital of the principality of Powys. Thomas Jones, a native of Corwen, born about the year 1647, a tailor by profession, succeeded in business in London. He moved to Shrewsbury, opened a book shop, bought a printing press, and became a publisher. As printer, editor, translator, and publisher, he was the means of

[1] *Journal of Welsh Bibliographical Society*, 59–60.

bringing out over thirty Welsh books. For many years he published a Welsh Almanack, which contained a wonderful amount of information. Thomas Jones was a real benefactor to the land of his fathers. This remarkable man and loyal Churchman died in 1713, before the leaders of the Methodist revival were born. The number of Welsh books in circulation at the beginning of the eighteenth century was extraordinary large. This fact proves that the clergy were not idle and incompetent, and the demand for them proves that the people were not so ignorant as they have been represented.

It has become a habit of some modern writers to represent the generality of the clergy of Wales at the beginning of the eighteenth century as idle, debauched, inefficient, perfunctory, and ignorant. When the Church is described as in a state of extreme languor and at its lowest ebb, we read with surprise the testimony of Edward Samuel, a clergyman of deep piety, of wide experience and knowledge, who had spent the whole of his clerical life in his native land. In his preface to his translation of *The Truth of the Christian Religion*, there is a passage of grave historical importance. This was written in the year 1715, and we give a literal translation: "To God be praise, the light of the Gospel shines as bright to-day in Wales as in any other country; there are more pious and useful books printed; many more, and probably better preachers to-day than we have had among us at any period for more than a thousand years." In spite of this eloquent testimony and the facts already stated, we find modern writers continually repeating the old inaccuracies, and the reason is not far to seek. Very much in the same way

as the Puritans before them, the early Methodists either ignored or spoke with disdain of former ages. There was no light in the land, from their point of view, until they came. For many years their frequent and bold assertions remained uncontradicted by historical investigators, and even to-day they are referred to as undoubted facts. Williams of Pantycelyn, the Welsh hymn writer, in his *Elegy on Howell Harris*, printed in 1773, asserts that all Wales was enveloped in thick darkness, and that all bishops, clergy, and ministers were asleep when Harris began to exhort about 1736. Such a sweeping charge made Edmund Jones, a contemporary Independent minister of Pontypool, exceedingly indignant, and he denounced it as "a shameless untruth printed." Williams must have known of the labours of Bishop Humphreys, Moses Williams, Griffith Jones, Edward Samuel, and many others. He knew well enough that Harris himself was roused out of his stupor at Talgarth Church during a sermon by Pryce Davies, the vicar. We can easily believe that there was much irreligion, profaneness, and drunkenness, gaming, and fighting, as there is to-day. But there is no truth in the following statement: "Rural Wales was at the commencement of the eighteenth century in a condition of extreme languor. The majority of the clergy of the Established Church contented themselves with a perfunctory discharge, in a somewhat listless and inadequate manner, of their spiritual duty."[1] Griffith Jones speaks in his annual reports of the schools of the state of things in his day as of "recent" growth. A wave of infidelity and irreligion was spreading all over England, due to deistic

[1] *The Welsh People*, 463, Sir John Rhys and Brynmor Jones.

literature and the moral corruption of high personages, and its full force was felt in Wales. The religious apathy was not primarily due to the ineptitude of the clergy. It is not true to say that, owing to the hostility of the clergy, Griffith Jones was refused the parish churches, and compelled "to preach on a tombstone or under the yew tree,"[1] for it was not his habit to enter another man's parish like a thief, without invitation or permission. The statement that "after the church-warden had announced him to preach, the incumbent would take away the key of the church,"[2] is absurd and entirely unsupported by evidence.

It is too often forgotten that Jacobitism was a living force in Wales during the first half of the eighteenth century. The Welsh clergy and squirearchy were Jacobite in politics, and they resented the attitude of the Whig bishops. In 1715, the Welsh Jacobites were very busy. In Flintshire and around Monmouth there were many popish recusants, who made no secret of their profession, and spread throughout Wales there were many more secret adherents, who conformed outwardly on account of the penalties and disabilities. At the death of Anne there were riots in North Wales, especially around Wrexham, in anticipation of the coming of the Pretender. Of the later Jacobite leaders[3] the most important was Sir Watkin Wynn, the founder of the "Cycle of the White Rose," which was very largely supported by the chief gentry of Denbighshire and Flintshire. In South Wales the Jacobites had a society

[1] *Nonconformity in Wales*, 315.—T. Rees.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Article in *Transactions of Cymmrodorion* (1920—1921).—Herbert M. Vaughan.

called " The Sea-serjeants." Its president was Richard Gwynne of Taliaris. But when Charles Edward marched from Scotland in 1745 to Derby, very few Welsh squires went forth to meet him. The sudden dash into England evidently took the Welsh Jacobites by surprise, and Sir Watkin Wynn was not prepared to take the risk. The opportunity passed away for ever. " This year (1745)," wrote Peter Williams, " the Pretender landed in Scotland, and it was very much feared that he would march to London. Many bent their knees in prayer who had never done so before. I invited my parishioners to weekly prayer meetings in private houses."[1] Griffith Jones wrote in 1740, " Many relicks of former Heathenism and of Popery of later date still remain among us," and again, " Popish locusts have come in to make a prey of us." Romanism was by no means dead " West of the Severn " in 1764. In that year a Catechism of Christian doctrine in excellent Welsh by Dewi Nantbran, priest, O.S.F., was printed in London. The author addresses the parents of Catholic children, and assumes that there were many of them. Another Welsh Roman Catholic manual called *Allwydd y Nef*, by D. P. Priest, was printed in London in 1776. The author apparently did not reside in Wales, but he was a master of the Welsh language. The sufferings of " the faithful," on account of the repressive measures, are luridly depicted in the preface. As late as 1837 a Welsh Catholic Prayer Book was published in Liverpool in admirable Welsh. This was the work of Edward Metcalfe of Talacre, and the author admits that the faithful had by this time become few in number and poor.

[1] *Autobiography* of Peter Williams.

We have already shown that the seeds of a religious revival had been sown before Griffith Jones was ordained. This remarkable man, the greatest Welshman of the eighteenth century, was born in 1683. In these pages we propose to give an account of his life and work. His ancestors and collateral descendants had their home at the farm of Pantrefel, in the parish of Penboyr. His father, John ap Griffith, died in Feb., 1684.[1] The famous revivalist was his fourth and youngest son. By the terms of his will a moiety of Pantrefel was given to the eldest son, and it is thought that the widow, after his death, moved to the neighbouring parish of Cilrhedyn, where Griffith Jones spent his boyhood. "He was christened at Cilrhedyn Church, May-Day, 1684."[2] His early biographers seem to have known but little of his history during the first twenty years of his life. In 1752, however, a bitter attack on him, with the title, *Some Account of the Welch Charity Schools* was published by John Evans.[3] In this work we are told that Griffith Jones was a truant at school, and that he spent his childhood watching the sheep; that, while engaged in this occupation, Griffith Jones declared he had seen a heavenly vision, to which he frequently alluded during the first years of his ministerial life. We know that, whatever the cause, his ministry at Laugharne was attended with a wonderful

[1] *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1924).—Col. Tucker Thomas.

[2] Entry in Burial Register of Llanddowror.

[3] This John Evans was a native of the neighbouring parish of Mydrim, and the absentee vicar of the adjoining parish of Eglwys Gymun. He resided chiefly in London, as king's chaplain at Whitehall. He was on friendly terms with the London literary Welsh, and preached a sermon to the Society of Ancient Britons at St. Andrew, Holborn, on St. David's Day, 1750.

manifestation of power, and hundreds and thousands flocked to hear him. We are also informed that he worked as a "turner" of wood work for some years. That is quite possible, because the locality has been renowned for generations for its wood work, and the industry is still carried on. He must have been about twenty years of age when he went to school at Carmarthen, for he was twenty-five when he was ordained in 1708 by Bishop Bull, and John Evans tells us, what we so much wanted to know, that the Rev. Mr. Evans, rector of Clydey and Cilrhedyn, was his teacher and patron. What assistance he received, if any, from Tobias Saunders,[1] the resident squire and father of Dr. Erasmus Saunders, vicar of Blockley, it is impossible to ascertain. That he obtained a curacy at Laugharne, where Thomas Philipps, a son of Sir John Philipps was vicar, is somewhat significant. He remained in the closest touch with this family for many years, and in 1720 married a sister of Sir John Philipps. From 1708 onwards we are told that large crowds congregated to Laugharne to hear him, and John Evans, who was well acquainted with the district, being a grandson of Thomas Price, a former vicar of Mydrim, tells us: "I was persuaded when a lad to go with the crowd to Laugharne Church, which I found so full of strangers that I could not come near the doors." In 1711, Griffith Jones obtained the small benefice of Llandilo Abercowyn, but in 1712 he was offered work as a missionary at Tranquebar, in India, among the Portuguese, and he made a serious beginning of learning the language. He was anxious about his widowed mother, and desired the society to send a part of his salary to her. But

[1] *West Wales Historical Records*, II., 178.

circumstances intervened, and the project was abandoned. In 1716 he was given the rectory of Llanddowror by Sir John Philipps, which he held with Llandilo, both in private patronage and of small value. There is no evidence that he was ever offered any other preferment during his long and eminently useful life. More than that, he was bitterly opposed and persecuted at the beginning of his career by some of the official clergy of the diocese on account of his remarkable preaching and evangelistic work. He did not confine his labours to his own parish, but went wherever he could find an open door, and in 1714 he was cited before the bishop's court for preaching in churches without invitation or permission. In a letter to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, dated October 9, 1714, Sir John Philipps gives particulars of the trial:[1] "Mr. Jones of Laugharne has lately undergone a Sort of Tryal before the Bishop of St. Davids at Carmarthen, where several of the Clergy appear'd against him, whose principal accusation was his neglecting of his own Cure, and intruding himself into the Churches of other Ministers without their leave, the contrary whereof was manifestly prov'd, viz., that he never preach'd in any other place without being invited either by the Incumbent, Curate, or some of the best inhabitants of the Parish. That he had preached twice or thrice without the walls of the Church, the reason of which was because the Church was not large enough to contain the hearers, which sometimes amounted to 3 or 4000 people. His defence was so clear and satisfying that the

[1] S.P.C.K. Abstract of Letters, No. 4163.

Bishop declar'd[1] he was willing Mr. Jones should preach anywhere having an invitation from the Minister of the place." We have already pointed out that John Evans, though an inexorable enemy, tells us many things about Griffith Jones which we do not find recorded elsewhere. We are informed of the large multitudes, from every part of South Wales, Monmouthshire, and Herefordshire, that congregated to Llanddowror for their monthly communions. We are told that Daniel Rowland after his ordination spent several months at Llanddowror, preaching and teaching. The usually accepted version that he was converted at Llanddewi Brefi, where he went out of mere curiosity to hear a sermon by Griffith Jones, is very improbable, because he was a son of a former rector, and at that time curate of Llanddewi Brefi, and probably well known to Griffith Jones from boyhood. We are told that the three leaders of the Welsh Methodist Revival, Howell Harris, Daniel Rowland, and Howell Davies, "All three came out of Mr. Jones' shop with their heads turned exactly the same way." We are also informed that Griffith Jones had much to do—perhaps the real founder—with the Methodist club at Oxford, and that he went every year to Bath, and from there to Oxford, where he stayed on one occasion for a month. John Evans was well acquainted with the ill-fame of the Methodist club from its inception, because he was at Jesus College at the time. We know from other sources that Sir John Philipps took the keenest interest in the Oxford society, and when the Wesleys were away in Georgia he gave Whitefield an annuity of £20, promising to make it £30 if he would continue at Oxford, for he thought

[1] The Bishop was Adam Ottley.

"if this place could be leavened with the vital spirit of religion, it would be like medicating the waters at their spring." We know also that William Morgan and John Gambold were among the earliest members of the Oxford society, who with Charles Wesley brought in John Wesley, fellow of Lincoln College, two years later. Both Morgan and Gambold were Welshmen, and both had come under the influence of Griffith Jones, certainly Gambold, in their earlier years. Morgan died young, and very little can be gleaned of his early history, but John Gambold lived until 1771. His father, William Gambold, was rector of the Welsh parish of Puncheston in Pembrokeshire, where Griffith Jones often preached. He was a man of deep piety and an Oxford scholar, but disabled during the latter years of his life from clerical duty. His infirmity, however, did not prevent him from writing in English an admirable Grammar of the Welsh language, which was published in 1727. He also compiled an English and Welsh Dictionary, which was left in manuscript. He died in 1728. His son John entered Christ Church, Oxford, in 1725, took his degree of Master of Arts in 1734, and a few years later he was presented to the vicarage of Stanton Harcourt in Oxfordshire, where he lived accord- to the rules of the primitive Christians. Soon he fell under the spell of Zinzendorf and the Moravians, and determined to join them. In 1742, he resigned his living, and returned to Wales, where he kept a school and preached occasionally. He was recalled to London to become a bishop of the Moravian community. John Wesley kept up his old friendship with him to the end, visited him from time to time, and wrote pathetically and bitterly: "Spent some time with my old friend

John Gambold. Who but Count Zinzendorf could have separated such friends as we were ? "[1]

Most great men have one sphere and one function ; and accordingly, however diversified their powers and accomplishments, everything about them tends to become subordinate to this end. Comparatively few details have been preserved of the first twenty years of the ministerial work of Griffith Jones. His name as a corresponding member appears a few times in the records of the S.P.C.K., but other Welshmen were probably more prominent than he during these years. It was not until he was 48 years of age that he found his real sphere. His remedy for the evils of his time was religious education and catechizing. First of all he had to clear the ground, and create a desire for knowledge in ignorant people. He had to convince not only the rich, but the poor, of the value of religious education. His plan was new, and had never been attempted before. It was a stupendous task that he undertook, which was to impart religious instruction to old and young by means of circulating schools, conducted in the Welsh language. The first of these schools was set up in 1731, with no other fund to defray the expense than what could be spared out of a small offertory. By the beginning of 1738 schools were set up in several counties with more than two thousand four hundred scholars. " Very few of these could say as much as the Lord's Prayer when they came first to school, and many of them could, in six or eight weeks time, not only read tolerably, but repeat all the Church Catechism in their native Welsh language, and make pretty good answers to plain questions." He soon

[1] *Wesley's Works*, III., 156—157.

discovered that a school for training teachers was a crying need, and the old school at Llanddowror was converted into a seminary for teachers. His letters in print and in manuscript contain valuable information, and we are fortunate in the fact that most of his writings are still accessible. His chief supporters during the early stages were Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle and Madam Bevan, daughter of John Vaughan, Derllys, and wife of Arthur Bevan, member of Parliament for Carmarthen borough. But he sustained a heavy loss early in 1736 by the death of his friend, patron, and brother-in-law, Sir John Philipps. Referring to that event in a letter to Madam Bevan he writes : " I cannot help being in the greatest grief at his death, not so much for my own as for the general loss it is likely to be to the interest of religion in all parts of the world. . . I shall be afraid to see him, if I be not found in the blessed Jesus, of whom he talked so often to me."[1] The several societies in which he was concerned " will think it no disparagement to own that he was both the spring and guide of their laudable action." Sir John Philipps was born in 1662. He was a large land owner, a member of Parliament for many years, and a religious leader of the first rank in an irreligious age. He was present at the first meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, held on June 27, 1701, at Lambeth Palace,[2] together with two other Welshmen, John Evans, bishop of Bangor, and John Williams, bishop of Chichester. After his return from Georgia, Charles Wesley paid a visit to Sir John Philipps, and wrote in his diary : " I waited upon good old Sir John

[1] *MS.* at Carmarthen Museum.

[2] *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, 6.

Philipps, who received me as one alive from the dead. Here I heard a most blessed account of our friends at Oxford." This eminently good man took a lead in all good work, maintained schools at his own costs, helped necessitous young men, and distributed thousands of religious books. Griffith Jones felt his loss very keenly, and wrote: "Ah! that head is now to be laid low that was so accurate a judge of the principles, practices, and writings of men."

The schools continued to multiply until practically every district or parish in Wales came within the scope of the movement. The method of proceeding is described in the report for 1742–43: "Where a Charity School is wanted or desired, or likely to be kindly received, no pompous preparation or costly buildings are thought of, but a church or chapel, or untenanted house of convenient situation, is fixed on; and public notice is given immediately that a Welsh school is to begin there at an appointed time, where all sorts that desire it are to be kindly and freely taught for three months (though the schools are continued for three months longer, or more, when needful; and then removed to another place where desired)."[1] The schools entered no parish except by the permission or at the invitation of the clergyman in charge. The masters were to work under his supervision, and much care had to be exercised in selecting about two hundred masters. If some of these were found unworthy they were to be summarily dismissed, and others appointed in their place. We learn from some of his correspondents that offertories were made towards the movement in some of the parishes which benefited by it. In

[1] *Welch Piety*, 1742–3, 5.

referring to "such English benefactors as are kindly disposed towards it," the promoter says that many of them were unknown to him. As regards the sources whence he derived support, he tells us that the poor Welsh people were unable to contribute, and that the gentry were unwilling. "Yet," he writes, "there have not been wanting here some friends, hearty friends to this cause; but I could mention this with regard to persons of rank or ability almost in the singular number." In this great undertaking he was faithfully supported (1) By a band of earnest men. Who were these supporters? Their names deserve to be known and for ever remembered. A list is given in one of the reports.[1] The list is exceedingly significant on account of its omissions. We look in vain for the name of a single bishop, dean, or archdeacon. No active supporter from the diocese of Llandaff is mentioned, and no land-owning magnate, with the exception of Sir John Philipps, from the whole of Wales.

He was supported (2) By the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which supplied him with Bibles, thousands of Catechism, Psalters, and devotional books. In October, 1736, he could not get a sufficient number

[1] The following names are recorded:—Sir John Thorold, Bart., Cranwell; Sir John Philipps; Mrs. Bevan of Laugharne; Sir Francis Gosling, Alderman of London; Rev. Dr. Hales, Teddington, Middlesex; Slingsby Bethel, Esq., M.P.; Dr. Hartley, Bath; Rev. Dr. Stonehouse, Northampton; William Butler, Esq., Buerton, Cheshire; Rev. Isaac Sparrow, Bath; Thomas Jones, Esq., Westminster; Rev. William Wynne, Lasynys, Merionethshire; Rev. Thomas Ellis, Holyhead; Rev. Robert Williams, Treasurer of Bangor Cathedral; Rev. David Morris, Rector of Festiniog; Rev. Andrew Edwards, Rector of Dolgelley; Rev. Humphrey Jones, Llanfwrog, Anglesey; Rev. David Lloyd, Llangerniew, Denbighshire; Rev. John Edwards, Vicar of Cwm, Flintshire; Rev. John Kenrick, Vicar of Llangerniew, Denbighshire. (*Welch Piety*, 1741–42, 61.)

of Welsh Psalters from London, and he was ready with his own exposition of the Catechism for printing, and wrote to Madam Bevan: "I will get 1000 printed at Carmarthen if Nicholas or Carter have got paper, and the Church Catechism may be sticht to it." Six hundred Psalters arrived later. In 1746, the society received from him the sum of £558 15s. 6d. towards the cost of bringing out a new edition of the Welsh Bible, and we find that four hundred Bibles were allotted to him. There was some trouble or suspicion in connection with the distribution of Bibles, as we see from a letter by Archdeacon Edward Yeardley to the society in 1748. There was a certain man of the name of Morgan Richards, obviously a man of doubtful integrity—"a Presbyterian by principle, a cobbler by profession, and now turned Methodist teacher." The question was through what channel the Bibles came into his hands, so that he could trade with them and make a gain by them, selling them at 5s. each. "Mr. Griffith Jones, indeed, has a right by agreement to a certain number, and may dispose of them at what price he thinks proper. But he cannot be supposed to have any concern with ye above named trader because Mr. Jones's known price is 4s. 6d. per book."[1]

He was supported (3) By the vast majority of the parochial clergy. Extracts from six hundred letters from clergymen and laymen are printed in the annual reports called *Welch Piety*. Many hundreds were not published.[2] In the year 1752 he received about two hundred letters from clergymen testifying to the blessings derived from the schools, and he declares that

[1] Add *MSS.* 359—B, Nat. Lib. of Wales.
[2] *Welch Piety* (1741–42), 61.

during the twenty years the movement had been going on he had received over two thousand letters from clergymen. One vicar writes: "Many a sweet blessing will attend you for this, and your other indefatigable endeavours." Another vicar, whilst highly commending the schoolmaster, writes: "I have sent you a guinea by him, as my poor mite towards carrying on the glorious work." Griffith Jones had to struggle hard against apathy and prejudice. He had to defend himself against misrepresentations and calumny. The irregular methods of Howell Harris and the young enthusiasts caused him much anxiety, because he was held responsible by his detractors for their actions, and he wrote to Madam Bevan: "I am quite well, and never more alive than to-day, and all last night, though I talked a great deal, and with high spirits, with Howell Harris; but I think it shall be the last time, for he is absolutely erroneous and conceited." This interview, however, did not lead to an estrangement. His curate, Howell Davies, was causing him trouble in 1740. "He is so unsettled in his mind that I cannot depend on any of his promises. I am sorry I cannot fix him in his studies. I see he will continue as ignorant and disorderly as any of the crowd, when he parts with me. It is the cry of the crowd that he will be governed by, which grieves me very much for his own sake." Howell Davies became the Methodist evangelist of Pembrokeshire, and a famous preacher. He was one of the first to build Methodist chapels. While the Methodists were starting conventicles and associations, Griffith Jones went on with his great work, undaunted by misrepresentations and scurrilous attacks. The most notorious of the attacks was the long pamphlet which was

published by John Evans in 1752. The author declares that he wrote his book at the request of good Bishop Gibson of London. Gibson died before the book was published, and so far as we know never saw a line of it. But a modern writer has assumed the accuracy of the statement, and has, in a characteristic style, enlarged upon the circumstances: "Even a bishop employed a venal clergyman, one John Evans, rector of Eglwys Gymun, near Llanddowror, to abuse him in one of the most scurrilous, vulgar, and obscene pamphlets ever issued from the British press."[1] Griffith Jones referred to his enemy in these words, "Should we be dismayed or diverted from the most important business by senseless scurrilities? Should the traveller be disturbed by the little animals that bark at him in his way?"

The religious revival which had its beginning at Laugharne and Llanddowror was left to run its course, not only unaided, but utterly discouraged by the absentee bishops and the ecclesiastical authority. Wesley and Whitefield frequently acted in open defiance of the laws and customs of the Church, and claimed a sort of right to do as they pleased. But Griffith Jones, throughout his long career never transgressed, so far as we can see, any written or unwritten law of the Church. He was a sound Churchman, and no exception can be taken to his Church teaching in his numerous books and sermons, and his circulating schools were conducted on strict Church principles. He worked in poor rural parishes under nine successive bishops of St. Davids, from none of whom did he receive any recognition during the fifty-three years of his eminently successful

[1] *History of Nonconformity in Wales*, 320.—T. Rees.

ministry. He entertained a strong hope at one time that the bishops would give their support and patronage to the circulating schools, but there is no evidence that they did. The parochial clergy on the other hand blessed the schools, and cordially co-operated with him. Their endeavours in behalf of the schools is freely admitted in the annual reports.[1] In localities in Pembrokeshire and Radnorshire, where the English language alone was known, English schools were set up, and the desire for them steadily increased. The benefits derived from the circulating schools cannot be adequately estimated without examining the testimonies of contemporary clergy. P. Thomas, curate of Gelligaer, wrote in 1741: "Now our solemn assemblies are thronged, and what is more to be taken notice of, there is a visible change for the better in the lives and behaviour of the people . . . We have now a monthly communion about us in several parish churches, where, within a few years past, it could hardly be administered so often as thrice a year, for want of persons to receive it. The schools have been the means to reform the profanation of the Sabbath Day . . . . neighbours associate now to read their Bibles or other good books, singing Psalms, and praying with their families." Marmaduke Gwynne, of Garth, Breconshire, a country squire and magistrate, writes in 1740: "Our churches hereabout, which formerly used to be very thin, have of late years full congregations, and the communicants at the blessed Sacrament of our dearest Lord's Supper are increased accordingly." Robert Lloyd, the vicar of Devynock, testified in 1746: "This exceeding sweet and comfortable beginning has so wrought upon the

[1] See *Welch Piety*, 1754–55.

parents that they are very desirous of having the school for another quarter." David Havard, curate of Llandyssul, writes in 1747: "The Welch Charity School did more good in our parish than all our preaching for many years, for now the people bring their children to Church to be catechized every Sunday evening." D. Price, vicar of Llangyfelach, observes in 1747 that the parents of children had greatly improved in their outward behaviour and conduct. "Adult scholars, seldom seen before in Church, are now at least in appearance attentive hearers." The rector of Llanllechid, Carnarvonshire, bears witness to the value of the schools by saying that the members of the congregation were singing the Psalms, and making the regular responses at Divine Service, "a thing not known before in this parish." Griffith Jones himself often visited the parishes, and employed his time in incessant labour. He also relates many pathetic incidents which were communicated to him by his correspondents. In 1744 he writes: "The poor people desire and thirst for the knowledge of God, and flock in great numbers to these schools in several places, when they can hardly get bread enough to satisfy their hunger, and were never oppressed with so much poverty before in this country in the memory of man." Parents learned to read, and received instruction at home from their children, who had been taught at school. "It has been taken notice of more than once that many above fifty, and some above sixty, and even seventy years of age, have in some places attended these schools, and learned to read with their spectacles on."[1] The curate of Gelligaer, writing in 1758, says: "It may give you some pleasure

[1] *Welch Piety* (1752–53), 12.

to be informed of a poor old blind woman, above eighty years of age. This poor creature desired to be led into the school to hear the children. After she had heard them she also desired to be instructed with them. Accordingly, the schoolmaster took so much pains with her that he taught her to repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed, and the Ten Commandments, and several other necessary questions in the principles of religion." In North Wales, some young people, after learning to read, brought with them to the schools Bibles that appeared quite new, though printed eighty years before. These were copies of Thomas Gouge's Bible. Thousands learned to read after their labours for the day were over, by receiving lessons from the schoolmaster in the evenings. During thirty years it is computed that over 150,000 souls received instruction in the day schools. How many thousands more were taught in the night schools we cannot determine. In some places "about twice or thrice as many" attended at night as during the day. And this noble work was carried on by Griffith Jones until his death in 1761. Feeling that his strength was failing him, this lone and childless man, who had lost his wife in 1755. withdrew to the house of his old friend, Madam Bevan, at Laugharne, bequeathing to her all his goods and earnestly requesting her to carry on the schools. In youth he suffered much from asthma, and in middle age "fits of melancholy and depression" often troubled him. The man who accomplished so much suffered from indifferent health all his life.

Griffith Jones was the man of his time in Wales; he was one who in his day fought most nobly the good fight of faith, and drew to himself the thankful hearts

of thousands of people. The gentry and ruling class were insulting religion. Low morality and dislike of Christian precepts prevailed among high and low. He was opposed by moderate men as well, who regarded enthusiasm with dislike as savouring of fanaticism and Puritanism. He was opposed by the English bishops, who occupied Welsh sees, because his schools fostered the Welsh language, which they wished to stamp out. Griffith Jones knew that English services had failed, and that the people could be reached only through their native language. He was a man of untiring industry, famous for his insight into character, his patience, his firmness, his winning affectionateness. His burning zeal and devotion, and his name as a writer and teacher, told even upon the world without. His simplicity of character, his good sense, his gentleness and evenness of temper, won him the respect and affection of all who came into close touch with him.

The schools were maintained by Churchmen, and we are told definitely that "the masters employed are the best disposed members and communicants of the Church of England that we can find willing and qualified for this service." In 1742, a certain Evan Williams, a Dissenter, went from South Wales to set up a school in Carnarvonshire, without invitation and without authority, and he received a very rough treatment. This man declared that he had been sent by Griffith Jones, which is very improbable, for we find in the report for that year the statement: "I am of opinion that there is room enough within the compass of due and appointed order for anyone to exert his zeal, and become as extensively useful as his capacity can enable him, without making irregular and wild excursions." The

only reference that we have come across in all the reports to help from Nonconformists, is found in the report for 1740–41, where we read: "Some pious persons of a separate Protestant Communion(divested of all bigotry and partial regards to party interest) have shown a Catholic love and zeal to the advancement of our Holy Religion in the Church of England, by the ready and unasked for contributions of some of them."[1] We do not know who they were. The evidence adduced in these pages is ample to prove that Griffith Jones received the whole-hearted support of the vast majority of the rank and file of the clergy in North and South Wales, and certain statements which have been made and repeated again and again, unsupported by any evidence, are very much to be deplored. The following statement has no foundation: "The Established Church, as such, can hardly claim any credit for the varied and eminent services rendered to the cause of religion and education in Wales by Griffith Jones; for no individual in that age was more bitterly persecuted by Churchmen than he was, while the Nonconformists gave him all the assistance in their power. All the Welsh bishops, and the other dignitaries of the Church, together with the inferior clergy as a body, with the exception of a few incumbents of poor livings, and a small number of curates, were either indifferent spectators, or his virulent opponents."[2] The author was a highly respected Nonconformist minister at Swansea, who was elected to fill the Chair of the Congregational Union. His statements were accepted as facts. His book is still

[1] *Welch Piety*, 1740, 7.
[2] *History of Nonconformity in Wales*, 319.

quoted as an authority, with all its serious inaccuracies.

The schools were carried on, after the death of Griffith Jones, for sixteen years longer by Madam Bevan, but not with the same strict supervision as before. The schoolmasters were getting out of hand, and some were becoming Methodist exhorters, who went about preaching on Sundays instead of assisting in the parish churches. They began to question the authority of the parochial clergy, and the "schools were becoming nests of schism." Madam Bevan was old, and died in 1777. She made provision in her will for continuing the schools after her death. The funds had accumulated to about £10,000; but one of the trustees and next of kin questioned the validity of the will, with the result that the whole fund was thrown into Chancery, and there it remained for thirty years. The schools died of inanition. The fund was at last released in 1804, under a new scheme of administration devised by the court.

It is an astonishing fact that no bishop in Wales, from 1714 to 1870, as far as can be ascertained, knew enough Welsh to ordain and confirm in the language of the people. Worse than that, they deliberately neglected those who did minister to the people in their native tongue. The livings were small, the clergy were poor, and dependent on the good will of the squire or his resident agent, who treated with contempt those who were "tainted" with enthusiasm. The desirable benefices were invariably given to strangers, English in language and outlook. The emoluments of a Welsh parish continually went to supplement an English incumbency. We know of no instance of the emoluments of an English parish going to supplement a Welsh incumbency. Welshmen of piety and learning were

ignored. Ellis Wynne was a brilliant writer and translator, whose loyalty to the church was such that he could not tolerate any form of dissent. Moses Williams was a scholar, translator, editor, and antiquary. Edward Samuel was a divine, author, poet, and a man of marvellous industry and capacity. Thomas Ellis, vicar of Holyhead, fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, a devoted parish priest, and the author of a striking treatise in defence of the Church against the early Methodists and Separatists, received no promotion in Wales, and died vicar of a parish in Surrey. Theophilus Evans was a prolific writer in Welsh and English, an ardent Churchman, who wrote a scathing attack on "enthusiasts." William Wynn was a scholarly poet of no small merit, and member of one of the oldest Welsh families. These men were well qualified to adorn the highest position in the Church. They were ignored. Such erratic geniuses as Goronwy Owen and Evan Evans (*Ieuan Brydydd Hir*) failed to obtain any preferment in their native land. Goronwy Owen was a brilliant poet, born in Anglesey, and educated at Bangor and Oxford. He was ordained in 1745, and served several curacies in England. All his attempts to obtain a footing in Wales failed, and in 1757 he emigrated to America, where he became a college tutor at Williamsburg in Virginia. Evan Evans was a native of Cardiganshire, and educated at Merton College, Oxford. After serving several curacies in Wales he moved to England, and again returned to Wales. He was a diligent collector and transcriber of ancient manuscripts, for which purpose he visited all the best-known libraries. While a curate in the diocese of St. Asaph he published a monumental work, with

the title, *Specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards*, with Latin translations, and notes in Welsh and English, to which he subjoined a learned dissertation. English writers deal very summarily with him or ignore him altogether, though he greatly influenced Gray and other poets. American writers give him a larger space.[1] Evan Evans was the author of two volumes of sermons, and a commentary on the Bible, which he left unfinished in manuscript. He possessed many excellent qualities, but he developed one serious failing. He could not settle down, and died in very poor circumstances. In the year 1764 he wrote: "Our bishops look upon me, I believe in my conscience, with an evil eye, because I dare have any affection for my country, language, and antiquities, which, in their opinion, had better been lost and forgotten."[2] Again he wrote: "Our bishop (Newcome of St. Asaph) is like a pope, and does whatsoever he wills. He has already promoted three or four of his nephews to the best livings, where Welsh men served before, and these will not permit their curates to officiate in the Welsh language."

It is somewhat difficult to account for this deliberate neglect of the Welsh population. The causes may be reduced to three. (1) It was a profligate and dissolute age. Griffith Jones wrote in 1744: "The mask or form of religion is thrown off; the names of good and evil are inverted; everything that is serious is scoffed at, and treated with scorn and buffoonery; too many pride themselves to shew their wit in defaming piety."

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[1] *The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement.*—W. L. Phelps, Yale University.

[2] In 1876 Canon Silvan Evans edited a volume of his poems and letters.

And again in 1754: "The *noble* Infidel, the sinner of *Quality*, the profligate *Country Gentlemen*, having the god of this world and corrupt nature on their side, will always have many followers." George II. hated books, and could not endure a learned discussion. He "tainted a great society by a bad example."[1] Walpole hated religious controversy, and kept the Church in subjection. In 1717 he devised means to prevent Convocation from meeting again for business, and it remained effectively gagged for 145 years. The bishops were too often chosen for political service, and treated as political agents. On one point they all agreed, and that was that religious enthusiasm was dangerous, and not to be tolerated. The Welsh bishops were all strangers, out of touch and out of sympathy with the people. (2) The English government suspected the Welsh clergy of Jacobitism. About 1715 the Welsh Jacobites were exceedingly active, and again in 1745. The bishops were devoted Whigs, and the emoluments of Welsh parishes were parcelled out to English incumbents of Whig opinions. The vast majority of the Welsh clergy and gentry were Tories. The danger from Jacobitism passed away towards the middle of the eighteenth century, but the policy of anglicization through the Church was tenaciously maintained for another hundred years. In 1790, Bishop Samuel Horsley of St. Davids held a visitation, and the presentments of churchwardens show that the evil of non-residence of incumbents had increased. The curates, however, were devoted to their duties, and preached on every Lord's Day, and administered the Communion monthly, and on the festivals. There was much improvement

[1] Thackeray's *Four Georges*.

also in the state of the buildings. We shall give a few instances of non-residence. The incumbent of Llandilo Abercowyn lived at High Clare, near Newbury, Wilts. "The reason for his absence may be his not being used to the Welch language." The rector of Llanddowror lived at Haverfordwest, about thirty miles away. "He is absent of late years for a twelvemonth, owing partly to his infirmity, and his disability to perform in Welch." The curate, however, preached every Lord's Day, and kept the school. He was appointed as far back as 1753, and he was still a curate. The rector of Llanedy lived at Hay in Breconshire, sixty miles away, and kept a curate in residence. The vicar of Llanegwad lived on his estate in Cardiganshire, forty miles away. The incumbent of Laugharne was non-resident, "being at present, as we are informed, domestic chaplain to the duke of Bedford." The vicar of Llangan "resides upon his living in Gloucestershire." The vicar of Llansawel, we are told, "does not reside with us, but by what we find he is in Scotland, tutoring a Lord Galloway's children." The vicar of Llanstephan resided in the parish of Laugharne: "He commonly visiteth us twice or three times a year." The vicar of Merthyr, Carmarthenshire, lived at Langley, Bucks: "He is absent for a whole year or more, the reasons (we imagine) is his inability to perform duty in the Welch language, which is entirely the language of our parish." The vicar of Mydrim lived at Llandilo, a distance of thirty miles, and was absent nearly all the year. The vicar of St. Ishmael's lived at Swansea, and the vicar of Abernant lived at Oswestry, "because he is an usher to a free school at Oswestry." These instances alone prove conclusively that the English policy was a failure, and exceedingly baneful in its results.

The third reason why the Welsh language was interdicted is due to the fact that (3) it was an imperialist age. The danger from the pretender passed away, and the great struggle with France and Spain for the control of the New World occupied the attention of thoughtful men in every society. Before the end of George II.'s reign, England was victorious everywhere, on land and sea, and the foundations of a great empire were being firmly laid. The English people grew impatient of a small community, within the realm of Britain itself, clinging to its ancient language and customs. Was it not time the Welsh became anglicized in order that they might " enlarge their views and notions, and unite with the rest of their fellow subjects in language, as well as government ? " It became a part of the policy of the bishops, nobility, and gentry, to ostracize the Welsh language. The Welsh gentry no longer spoke in their households the language of their forefathers. It was too vulgar and common. This policy was disastrous in its effects. It irreparably weakened the Welsh Church when it needed much strength, encouragement, and active support in its battle with Dissent and the disruptive forces of Methodism. The Welsh peasant farmers felt dismayed. Their natural leaders had betrayed them. The gentry pretended to have forgotten their own language. The parishioners knew not the voice of the incumbent, and knew not the name of the bishop. Rather than listen to an English sermon or a sermon in unintelligible Welsh, which did not profit them, they flocked to the Dissenting chapel or Methodist meeting-house. It is abundantly clear from his writings that Griffith Jones was keenly conscious of the crisis through which the ancient Church was passing in his

time, and wrote as early as 1741 : " I beg leave to add that the Right Reverend Fathers in God, the bishops of this country, have it now in their power, and the best opportunity for it that ever did, or perhaps ever will offer, of rendering their names ever dear and memorable to the present and future generations of the poor Welsh people, and of being serviceable to them in their most dear and momentous concern, by encouraging an impression of the Welsh Bible on the plan of promoting the catechetical teaching of the poor, and the support of the Welsh charity school. Children yet unborn and generations to come will call them blessed." There is no evidence of any encouragement or support given to the schools by the bishops. They had nothing to say against the teaching given in the schools, and the clergy everywhere testified to the benefits derived from them. It would seem that they with-held their support because the schools in most places were conducted in the Welsh tongue.

The Welsh bishoprics were generally regarded as stepping stones to higher ecclesiastical dignity—an honourable banishment for two or three years. Some of the bishops accepted the title and refused the duties. They soothed their injured pride or unsatisfied ambitions by non-residence. Not one of them understood the Welsh religious revival, which was essentially a Church revival. Griffith Jones, during his long life, saw a succession of twelve bishops of St. Davids, eleven bishops of Bangor, eleven bishops of St. Asaph, and eight bishops of Llandaff. He was ordained by Bishop Bull of St. Davids, and instituted to Llanddowror by Bishop Ottley. These good men were succeeded by Richard Smallbrook, an obsequious person, too ready

to give preferment to his own relations. He was translated to Lichfield in 1730. In his charge of 1746 he gave countenance to the belief that Methodism was a disguised form of popery: "If the false doctrines of the Methodists prevail, they must unavoidably create a general disorder in our constitution, and often favour the return of popery itself."[1] Nicholas Claggett was bishop of St. Davids from 1731 to 1743, when he was translated to Exeter. He was one of Walpole's nominees, and a well-known preacher on special occasions. His unsympathetic attitude towards Howell Harris when seeking ordination does not redound to his credit. Richard Trevor held the see from 1743 to 1752. He was descended from an ancient Welsh family, the Trevors of Trefalun, in Denbighshire. His father, Baron Trevor, was a well-known lawyer, who became lord chief justice. Richard Trevor was born in 1707, and received his education at Westminster and Queen's College, Oxford. He was elected a fellow of All Souls, and admitted to Holy Orders. He was presented to the living of Houghton and Witton, Hunts., which he held with a canonry at Christ Church. He was a man well known about court, and accompanied the king to Hanover in 1735. When he was raised to the see of St. Davids the religious Revival was spreading like a consuming fire. Trevor completely failed to grasp the situation, and when Williams of Pantycelyn, the great hymn writer presented himself for priest's orders, he was turned away with a severe reprimand. Williams was a young man who had come under the influence of Howell Harris and Whitefield, and went about preaching outside his parishes. Theophilus Evans, his

[1] Overton's *Church in the Eighteenth Century*, II., 138.

vicar, appears to have complained of his irregularities. Trevor acted with undue harshness, and Williams promptly threw in his lot with the itinerant preachers, and remained a deacon to the end of his life. It is a well-known fact, and attested to by no less an authority than Thomas Charles of Bala, that Williams much regretted ever afterwards his hasty action and ill-considered decision on this occasion. Two of his sons were ordained clergymen. William Williams became vicar of St. Clement's, Truro, and John Williams was curate-in-charge of Builth. The latter joined the Methodist seccession in 1811. Trevor's treatment of Peter Williams, the commentator, whose chief offence was "enthusiasm," was cruel and harsh. He was curate to John Evans, king's chaplain, and rector of Eglwys Gymun, and author of the scurrilous attack on Griffith Jones and the Welsh charity schools, who complained of his irregular conduct and unorthodox preaching. The young curate, in 1745, when the pretender had landed in Scotland, and was making a bold bid for the throne, established cottage lectures, and attended "wakes," which he endeavoured to reform. "When one of the parishioners died, I tried to dissuade the relatives from following the old popish customs, and exhorted them to read and pray and sing psalms."[1] He ventured to speak plainly one Sunday to people who were conducting themselves irreverently in church. When he presented himself before Bishop Trevor he was rebuked for his irregularities, and prohibited for three years. "If you conduct yourself in a seemly manner without a curacy," said he, "I shall give you full orders at the end of that term." "How can I live,

[1] *Autobiography* of Peter Williams.

my lord, without office and stipend ? " asked the young man. " Live the best way you can," replied the bishop, and summarily dismissed him. Peter Williams was a very able man, a very good man, who never wished to separate from the Church, but he was obliged to join the itinerant preachers. Two of his sons, both educated at Oxford, were well-known clergymen, Eliezer Williams, vicar of Lampeter, and the original promoter of St. Davids College ; and Peter Bayley Williams, rector of Llanrug. The name of Peter Williams is still a household word in Wales, among Churchmen as well as Nonconformists.

On the death of Bishop Butler, the famous author of the *Analogy of Religion*, Trevor was translated to Durham. In the county Palatine of Durham nearly all the public offices were held under the bishop, and Trevor's arrival in a carriage drawn by six black Flemish horses, attended by a cavalcade of sheriff's officers, county gentry, clergy, and attendants, had the appearance of a procession in ancient feudal times. In person, the bishop was tall and stately, a magnificent prelate, and readily accessible to all. He administered the diocese with scrupulous care and consummate ability, and gave generously towards charitable purposes. He was an excellent preacher, and many of his sermons appeared in print. He was truly a great man and a good man. Apart from his work in his diocese he applied himself with much zeal to build a church and vicarage at Glynde in Sussex. He was the owner of the Glynde and other estates, and effected so many improvements in the parish that the village " presented a model of parochial management." He died in London in 1771, and was buried in the family vault of the church which

he had built at Glynde.[1] His biography was published in 1776. It is distressing to think that the connection of this eminent man with the diocese of St. Davids was so unfortunate. He could have kept the Methodist movement, by wise and strong leadership, from drifting away from the Church. Apart from his treatment of the two Williams, he did nothing for the Welsh charity schools, and never appreciated the immense industry of their worthy promoter.

Trevor was succeeded in the bishopric of St. Davids by Anthony Ellis, a studious man, who wrote a treatise against Hume and another in defence of the Hutchinsonians, a temporary party in the Church more distinguished for piety than for discrimination. The founder of this new school of thought was John Hutchinson, a steward to the duke of Somerset. He emphasised the all-sufficiency of the Scriptures, and attacked Newton's theory of gravitation. He died in 1734, but his opinions were respected long after his death because he strongly insisted, in an age when people were applauding reason, that religion rested upon a direct revelation. A manuscript is extant[2] which contains a record of the institution and sequestration of clergy, the licensing of schoolmasters, appointments of officials, between 1753 and 1761, when Anthony Ellis was the titular bishop of St. Davids. His commissioner was Thomas Eynon, vicar of Llangunnor, later vicar of Abergwili, and archdeacon of Brecon. It was he who licensed and instituted the clergy, sequestrated parishes on their death or resignation. Thomas Pardo, a native of Kidwelly, and principal of

[1] Letter of Rev. W. E. Dalton, Vicar of Glynde.

[2] Additional *MSS.*, 25—B, National Library of Wales.

Jesus College, Oxford, was chancellor and canon of St. Davids. In 1753 he was appointed vicar general, and John Morgan, vicar of Llanegwad, became chancellor. Another name which figures prominently in these records is that of Thomas Williams, vicar of Llanarthney. Obviously these four men ruled the diocese during the episcopate of Anthony Ellis; and if we consider the number of ordinations held and the extraordinary number of ordinands, whose names and qualifications are given, they did exceedingly well. At an ordination held at the bishop's chapel in September, 1753, seventeen deacons were ordained and thirty-four priests. Eleven of the deacons and five of the priests were Oxford men. In August, 1755, twelve deacons were admitted and ten priests. One of the deacons was from "Ystradmerick," four were from Jesus College, Oxford, and one a graduate of Dublin. Three of the priests were Oxford men. Again in December of the same year, four deacons were ordained in the parish church of St. Olave, Jewry, London. In August, 1756, at Abergwili, there were twenty-one deacons and ten priests. In September, 1757, there were twenty deacons and eleven priests. In August, 1758, there were twenty-five deacons and twelve priests. In August, 1759, there were nineteen deacons and fourteen priests. In August, 1760, three Oxford men and twelve literates were ordained deacons, and 15 were admitted to the priesthood. These facts prove that the Church in the diocese was by no means stagnant during these years. This document gives us also an insight as to how the incumbents and curates of parishes were maintained. The pay of John Pritchard, licensed in 1754 to the curacy of Abernant and Conwil, consisted

of the small tithes which belonged to the vicar, with all surplice fees, Easter offerings, Peter pence, and forty shillings for preaching monthly sermons, and also the yearly sum of five pounds, to be paid by quarterly payments. It is not stated where the five pounds came from. A note is attached to this record, written by some amanuensis pointing to an irregularity. It is said that a Hugh Price, a servant of the bishop, declared to the writer "that the licenses were signed and delivered to the candidates immediately after the ordination, without making any subscription or taking the oath thereupon."

Bishop Ellis was succeeded by Samuel Squire, a nominee of the duke of Newcastle, to whom he had been chaplain and secretary. Squire was interested in Early English, Philology, and Antiquarian societies.[1] During his short episcopate of five or six years he lived mostly in London, paying but brief visits to his diocese. It was sometime during these years that Daniel Rowland of Llangeitho, it is alleged, was prohibited by the bishop. A *MS.* is extant in the bishop's autograph, headed "Instructions to Mr. Rees Price, Aug. 23, 1761." Rees Price was the bishop's agent. Some of the "Instructions" read: "To send from time to time game or capons or anything else he shall please to Town." "Particularly to send, now and then, a dryed salmon and a pickled salmon." The Methodist revival was now at its height, and the great preachers were drawing the people after them, and emptying the parish churches, while this titular bishop was eating Towy salmon in London with his friends.

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[1] *The English Church and its Bishops*, II., 273.—C. J. Abbey.

A later bishop of St. Davids was Samuel Horsley. He was a man of great activity in his office, imposing eloquence, skill in controversy, and a deep interest in national questions. He made himself known throughout the parishes by continued travels, and by frequent preaching in the churches. What he could do in five years he did, but he felt seriously handicapped by his ignorance of the Welsh language. A circular letter sent out by him to the clergy in 1788 throws some light on the political controversies of the day, and the letter very nearly brought trouble upon the bishop himself for interfering in the election of a member of Parliament for the borough of Carmarthen. The sitting member, John George Philipps, was opposed by Sir William Mansel, and the bishop sent out a letter strongly supporting the candidature of Mansel, in which he says that "Mr. Philipps, the present member, has received the thanks of the Dissenters for the part he took in the late attempt to overthrow our *excellent* ecclesiastical constitution, by the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, which I will venture to pronounce, are as wise and salutary laws as any in our code. By this it is easy to guess what part he is likely to take in any future attempt for that purpose. I trust I shall not have the mortification to find a single clergyman in my diocese will be so false to his own character and fame, as to give his vote to a man who has ventured to discover such principles." Mansel withdrew, and Philipps was returned unopposed, and the bishop's letter caused considerable friction.

The episcopal supervision in the other dioceses was no better than in St. Davids. In some instances it was worse, and far worse. John Evans, one of Queen Anne's

bishops, was followed at Bangor by Benjamin Hoadly, who denounced authority, and talked about "the glory of reason." His negations did much harm in a deistic age. He had no respect for the Church and its long continuous history. He detested enthusiasm, and maintained that prayer should be wholly calm, rational, and dispassionate, and that fervency and zeal were quite inappropriate. During the six years he was bishop of Bangor, he never once set foot within his diocese. This polemical Whig and leader of the Latitudinarians was translated to Hereford, then to Salisbury, then to Winchester, and he died in 1761. Thomas Sherlock was a man of note, a great preacher, and master of the Temple for fifty years. In the Bangorian controversy he took a leading part against Hoadly. Before he had time to accomplish any reforms in his diocese he was translated to Salisbury and then to London. Charles Cecil, another non-resident, was succeeded by Thomas Herring. Of him it may be said that he did make some attempt to know his diocese. He toiled over the mountain ranges, concluding that they had been made by the Father of creation in the wrath of power. The Methodist preaching and enthusiasm filled him with horror, and he disliked controversy of all kinds. There were many who suspected him of cherishing Arian opinions at heart. Before he could accomplish anything he was translated to York, and then to Canterbury. He was succeeded by Matthew Hutton, a prominent latitudinarian, of whom nothing much can be said except that he also was translated to York and then to Canterbury. Zachary Pearce belonged to another class. He is said to be a very worthy bishop, and a theologian of considerable eminence. His English

contemporaries spoke highly of him. He was a classical scholar of high repute, and wrote a commentary on the Gospels. In fact, he compares favourably with the bishops of this period, and yet he never understood the Welsh Churchmen of his diocese. Unable to officiate in the Welsh language himself he treated those who could and did as inferiors. William Morris of Holyhead, collector of the customs, and a most assiduous transcriber of ancient poetry, and no mean critic, says of him in 1755, in a letter to his brother in London : " The one peculiar characteristic of the man is that he will do no good to anybody but to those scheming flatterers who are his creatures. Fie upon him. There is no chance for a really able man unless he consents to become a tool in the hands of one of his tools."[1] The high water-mark of the policy of anglicizing the Church in Wales was reached in the time of John Egerton. He was a grandson of the earl of Bridgewater, and had the manners of a benevolent semi-feudal lord. In 1766 he appointed Dr. Bowles, an Englishman, to the important Welsh benefice of Trefdraeth in Anglesey. Richard Morris, of the Admiralty, and the Cymmrodorion contested the appointment in the law courts, and won their case. Bowles was disqualified on account of his inability to minister in the language of the parishioners.[2]

Of the bishops of St. Asaph, Beveridge and Fleetwood have already been noticed. John Wynne was principal of Jesus College, Oxford, and related to the chief families

[1] *Morris Letters*, I., 377.—J. H. Davies.

[2] O heavens ! That prelates should become profane,
And for the Bread of Life should offer bane ;
That strangers should intrude into the fold,
Not for the flock, but for the love of gold.
Evan Evans (*Ieuan Fardd ac Offeiriad*), 1731—1789.

of North Wales. He encouraged Welsh literature and the distribution of religious books. He was probably the last bishop of St. Asaph during the whole of the eighteenth century and the greater part of the nineteenth who could say as much as "Our Father" in the language of the great majority of the people of the diocese. His successor was Francis Hare, well known in his time as a man of ability, but not the sort of bishop the Church needed. He had served with Marlborough throughout his campaigns. He was flippant and perhaps heterodox, and during his episcopate lived on his estate in Buckinghamshire. Thomas Tanner was an antiquary who wrote learned books on archæological subjects, and took no interest in the religious life of the diocese. His successor, Isaac Maddox, was a totally different man. He was a devout and serious-minded bishop, and at one time strongly supported the Moravians, and yet this man was unable except in a half-hearted way to commend the Welsh schools of Griffith Jones. Curiously enough it was the firm conviction of all Englishmen, or very nearly, that the greatest need of the Church in Wales was the speedy death of the Welsh language. This policy of anglicization, which was systematically persisted in for well nigh two hundred years, did incalculable harm. It alienated from fhe Church a large proportion of Welshmen of brains. It gave the Church itself an "alien" character. Towards the end of the nineteenth century there were thousands of Welshmen who hated the very stones of their parish church. They knew nothing of the history of the past, except what they read in the garbled versions of Nonconformists. The successor of Maddox was Robert Drummond, and he raised a storm of

indignation by his outspokenness. He was a son of the earl of Kinnoul, and a man of courtly and engaging manners, and strongly opposed to enthusiasm in religion. In 1753 he preached the annual sermon in behalf of the London and Westminster Charity Schools. It is a very able sermon,[1] but unfortunately when referring to the work of the Society of Christian Knowledge he made use of these words : " Among many other pious designs pursued by this society, I cannot omit their reprinting and dispersing at a low price 30,000 Bibles in the Welsh tongue, for the use of the poor of that country ; which may be necessary, till that people see that it is their true interest to enlarge their views and notions, and to unite with the rest of their fellow subjects in language as well as government." From a letter written by William Morris of Holyhead to his brother in London, we learn that Drummond had previously said at a dinner given by him to the gentry and clergy of the diocese that the sooner the better they throttled and killed the Welsh language. This declaration roused the ire of William Wynn, a Welsh poet and vicar of high repute, and he told the bishop some home truths. When Drummond broke out again, and this time in London before a large concourse of people, at the very time when the Welsh charity schools had spread all over the country, the indignation of Welsh Churchmen knew no bounds. What they thought of Drummond and his views may be gathered from the Morris letters and other sources. William Morris, writing to his brother Lewis Morris in 1754, says : " Mr. Ellis has lent me the sermon of that venomous Scot, who has been placed as pastor at St. Asaph. Ah me ! What think you. This

[1] Sermon by Robert, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, 22.

great reformer of languages as well as morals had not the effrontery to put this bombast in the body of his sermon, but placed it stealthily as a footnote in the printed copy. Would that Elwy and Richard Davies knew what a coxcomb occupies their ancient chair."[1] Bishop Drummond was translated to York in 1761. He preached George III.'s coronation sermon in a spirit "worthy of the august assembly." He was a polished speaker, and a man of attractive and engaging manners. "In Church opinion he was strongly anti-Calvinistic; spoke with unusual freedom of what displeased him in the articles or homilies, and expressed himself strongly against enthusiasm in religion."[2]

His successor at St. Asaph was Richard Newcome. Apart from the fact that he was translated from Llandaff very little information about him can be gathered from English sources. From the letters of Evan Evans, however, who was a curate in the diocese of St. Asaph, we derive considerable information. Evans accuses him of nepotism and other abuses, and he wrote an essay with the title, "The Grievances of the Principality of Wales in the Church considered," which is still extant in manuscript.[3] He deals with what he considered to be the causes of the weakness of the Church, and he enumerates three: (1) Want of pastors who understand the language; (2) Want of sufficient maintenance for the clergy; (3) Want of proper discipline. He attacks the policy and attitude of the bishops in scathing language: "Two of them[4]

[1] Morris Letters, I., 288.
[2] *The English Church and its Bishops*, II., 210.—C. J. Abbey.
[3] *MS.* 41. Nat. Lib. of Wales.
[4] Trevor and Drummond.

had the effrontery to tell us it was prejudice and ignorance of our true interest that made us stick to our antient language." "They have already preached against it, I suppose they will put it henceforth in their Litany."

Newcome was succeeded by Jonathan Shipley in 1769, who occupied the see for eighteen years. He was a bishop of rather a secular type, highly esteemed in general society. His house in London was a sort of centre for Dr. Johnson, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Garrick, Gibbon, Erskine, Percy, and other celebrities. Sometimes the Prince of Wales would be present. Shipley was a thorough latitudinarian, and said to be inclined towards Unitarianism. Like nearly all the Welsh bishops of that age he was exceedingly remiss in the duties which his diocese demanded. This was the bishop of St. Asaph when an earnest man like Thomas Charles of Bala was seeking in vain for a suitable sphere of labour in the diocese.

But the most notorious of all were the bishops of Llandaff. John Harris, a prebendary of Canterbury, was appointed in 1728 on the strength of an elaborate treatise on French fashions, which he condemned. The duke of Argyle was so pleased that he used his interest to such purpose that Harris became bishop.[1] His immediate successors, Matthew Mawson and John Gilbert, did nothing for the diocese. Mawson gained a reputation for parsimony, and Gilbert for pomposity. Mawson was translated to Chichester, and afterwards to Ely. Gilbert was translated to Salisbury, and from there to York. At Salisbury he had a great dispute with the mayor, and would not allow the mace to be carried

[1] *The English Church*, II., 76.—C. J. Abbey.

before him in the cathedral precincts. He introduced a new custom at confirmations of simply laying his hand on each candidate after pronouncing the words of prayer once only. This was the non-resident bishop of Llandaff when the religious revival was resounding throughout Wales. Of Edward Cresset we know nothing except that he was dean of Hereford. John Ewer was canon of Windsor, and did not reside at Llandaff. Shute Barrington was bishop for thirteen years. He was a son of Lord Barrington, and highly respected in the society he moved in. Hannah More tells of his deep piety, his great sense, and of his interest in the education of the poor. He frequently spoke in the House of Lords, but we do not know of anything that he did in the diocese of Llandaff. He was translated to Salisbury, and then to Durham. He resided chiefly at Mongewell, near Wallingford, and died in harness in 1827 at the age of ninety-one, having been bishop for fifty-six years. One of the Barringtons proved a benefactor and friend to Evan Evans, the famous Welsh bard and scholar. The Dodsley brothers were induced by Judge Barrington, in 1764, to undertake the publication of Evans' monumental work, entitled *Specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards.* Another bishop of Llandaff was Richard Watson, who held the bishopric as a non-resident for thirty-four years. He was a decidedly able man, and a prolific writer, but a most indifferent prelate. He lived exactly as a layman, far away from his diocese, devoting his abundant energies to politics, agriculture, and scientific pursuits, in his stately home in Westmorland, and left for posterity *The Anecdotes of my Life.* These memoirs do not present him in a favourable light. He entered Cambridge

as a raw north-country youth, but by his energy and ability he succeeded in rising to a high place in the university. He turned from mathematics to chemistry, and obtained the professorship without knowing anything about the subject. Later, he was appointed regius professor of divinity. He contemptuously disregarded all councils, creeds, and ecclesiastical traditions, as encumbrances. A bishopric was offered to him, and he accepted it on political grounds. It did not occur to him that grave responsibilities were attached to the office. The episcopal residence and cathedral at Llandaff were in a ruinous condition. Watson took no interest in either, and so far as is known never visited his diocese. And yet he "boasted in his Westmorland retirement that, with the poorest bishopric in the king's books, he was the richest prelate in his dominions."[1] This was the bishop who was responsible for the spiritual supervision of such important counties as Glamorgan and Monmouth, where the vast coal and iron industries were being developed, and where the Methodists, Independents, and Baptists were erecting chapels in every nook and corner. We cannot but marvel that the Church in the diocese survived such gross abnegation of duty on the part of the chief pastor.

From the account given of the Welsh bishops it will not be difficult to gauge their attitude towards the religious movemet. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the old tradition of Elizabethan policy still lingered, and some at least of the higher clergy were Welshmen both in language and sympathy. The accession of George I. and the domination of the Whigs

[1] *Llandaff Cathedral*, 16.—John H. James.

brought in a complete change, and Lloyd of St. Asaph and Humphreys of Bangor may be regarded as the last representatives of the old order. By the time of George III.'s accession the native element had been eliminated, and the system of non-residence and pluralities had become a public scandal. The views held by the court and nobility had been gradually instilled into the minds of the Welsh gentry, who tried to emulate the manners and extravagance of their superiors, and got out of touch with the life of the people on their estates, and only a few of them ever thought of restoring the churches and increasing the inadequate stipends of the clergy. Every remunerative post or benefice was now held by Englishmen, usually absentees, and careless or ignorant of the spiritual requirements of the parishes. A rupture between the dominant English faction and the revivalists was becoming inevitable.

CHAPTER IX.

The Church and Methodism.

I.

"THE Methodists of the world look upon Oxford as the cradle of their Church."[1] Such is the account given of the beginning of a great religious movement. The statement is misleading, because historical investigation has clearly revealed the fact that Welsh Methodism did not begin at Oxford. It is indeed conceivable that the movement in which the Wesleys figured so prominently had a far more intimate connection with the Welsh revival (which had begun at Laugharne and Llanddowror) than is generally thought. William Morgan was the son of Welsh parents residing in Dublin. Gambold wrote of him that "being acquainted with Messrs. John and Charles Wesley he invited them to join with him." "About half a year after I got among them Mr. Morgan died."[2] Gambold had spent his childhood in the country parish of Puncheston, had attended the Welsh services in his father's church, and had probably come under the influence of Sir John Philipps and Griffith Jones during his early years. The Welsh movement was propagated with much zeal and earnestness by Howell Harris and

[1] *A New History of Methodism*, I., 137.—Townsend, and others.

[2] Tyerman's *The Oxford Methodists*, 13.

Daniel Rowland, but it was not initiated by them. The fire had been kindled before they were born. We know that George Whitefield, while at Oxford, was a pensioner of Sir John Philipps, the Pembrokeshire baronet. After paying his second visit to Wales in 1739, Whitefield wrote that here "An awakening had begun some years before, by the instrumentality of the Rev. Griffith Jones, and now carried on by the ministry of one Mr. Howell Harris, a layman."[1] He met Harris at Cardiff, and they travelled together with many others to Usk, Pontypool, Abergavenny, Caerleon, Newport, and other places. Both preached to many thousands, Whitefield in English and Harris in Welsh. The year 1743 is a landmark in the history of Welsh Methodism. A new organization or association was set up, and Whitefield became its first president. He continued in Wales some weeks, and visited Cardiff, Llantrisant, Neath, Swansea, Llanelly, Carmarthen, Kidwelly, Laugharne, Narberth, Llandovery, Trevecka, Builth, and other places. What he saw and heard during his visits impressed him greatly, and he wrote: "The work begun by Mr. Jones spread itself far and near in South and North Wales, where the Lord had made Mr. Howell Harris an instrument of converting several clergy as well as laymen. Last year I visited several places, but now I went to more, and in every place found that not one half had been told me. The power of God at the Sacrament under the ministry of Mr. Rowland was enough to make a person's heart burn within him. At seven of the morning have I seen perhaps 10,000 from different parts, in the midst of a

[1] *Life of Whitefield*, 32.—John Gillies.

sermon, crying *goguniant—bendyitti*,[1] ready to leap for joy Associations were now formed, and monthly or quarterly meetings appointed, and a closer connexion established between the English and Welsh, so that several came over to assist."[2]

It seems difficult to account for the fact that John Wesley never had such a large following in Wales as Whitefield. Both paid many visits to the principality, and both were equally ignorant of the Welsh tongue. At first the Welsh revivalists co-operated with both, but a rift was forming, and towards the end of 1742 there were two distinct parties. The ultra Calvinists would not receive Welsley's preachers, and Whitefield frankly told him that they preached two different gospels, and that he would publicly preach against him wheresoever he preached at all.[3] Wesley found that his preachers in Pembrokeshire were opposed and maligned by the supporters of Howell Davies.[4] Howell Harris and Charles Wesley withstood one another at Builth. Eventually the Calvinists won the day, but Whitefield had not the organizing talents of Wesley, and Calvinistic Methodism would probably have passed away gradually if it had not found a patroness in Selina Shirley, countess of Huntingdon. This remarkable woman attached herself to Whitefield and the Calvinists. In 1748 she visited Wales with Anne and Frances Hastings. They were met at Bristol by Griffith Jones, Daniel Rowland, Howell Davies, and Howell Harris. A great religious campaign was inaugurated, and the countess marched

[1] He meant to write *bendigedig*.
[2] *Life of Whitefield*, 105.
[3] Southey's *Life of Wesley*.
[4] Wesley's *Journals*, IV., 328.

from place to place for a fortnight. Griffith Jones preached in a large field from Isaiah xl., 6, "What shall I cry?" with amazing effect.[1] At Trefecca preaching went on continuously for several days. This is the only instance recorded of the old evangelist of Llanddowror boldly joining in open-air preaching with Howell Harris and others. As a result, the number of his detractors increased, and Churchmen of the old school were puzzled and pained. The countess of Huntingdon held strong Calvinistic views, and her talents, wealth, and influence placed her at the head of the Whitefield party. Bishop Benson of Gloucester, the early patron and adviser of Whitefield, went to expostulate with her, but he found the lady more disposed to teach than to learn, and the bishop is said to have expressed his regret, as he took his leave, that he had ever ordained George Whitefield. In Wales she was strongly supported by Madam Bevan, who had a house at Bath, where the countess visited, and where Griffith Jones and Whitefield preached. The countess purchased theatres, halls, and dilapidated chapels, and fitted them for public worship.

That the leading Welsh Churchmen of the day did not approve of the irregular conduct of the Methodists is evident from the attitude of Thomas Eynon, the master of the Carmarthen Grammar School, Edward Richard of Ystradmeurig, and from the letters of Evan Evans and the Morris brothers. Thomas Ellis, vicar of Holyhead, and fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, published two treatises, in 1747 and 1749, written in vigorous Welsh, in defence of the Church against the

[1] Diary of Lady Frances Hastings.

attacks of the Methodists. The reception given in North Wales to the itinerants was of an uncompromisingly hostile nature. Harris and Peter Williams were roughly handled, and the clergy treated them as intruders and fanatics. A certain William Edwards, a Dissenter, was schoolmaster at Carnarvon, and he appears to have given a welcome to two Dissenting preachers on their way to Anglesey. The vicar called him to order, and Edwards declares, in a letter written in 1744, to a Francis Barkstead of Hoxton, that the "vicar and new chancellor have a mind to extirpate religion out of the country." This man evidently thought that religion was a monopoly of a religious party. The cause of the "persecution" is also stated: "The Methodists who came to some parts of the country have been the occasion of this; for those that have been awakened by them fell off and joined with us, and that has made the clergy mad against us." John Owen, vicar of Llannor and chancellor of Bangor, had no intention of allowing intruders to do as they pleased, and Evan Williams, a Dissenter from South Wales, who went to Carnarvonshire to set up a school, was driven out forthwith, and the meeting-house at Pwllheli was stoned. John Owen wrote a sharp letter to Griffith Jones calling his attention to the behaviour of men who claimed to be his emissaries. It is clear that Griffith Jones knew nothing of these "wild excursions," and we find that Chancellor Owen became a warm supporter of the Welsh charity schools. In 1752 he had a school with 73 pupils in his parish.[1] William Morris of Holyhead, a well-informed layman, wrote in 1745: "If there is a person anywhere notorious among his

[1] The lists of Schools in *Welch Piety* (1752).

neighbours for his evil life and evil thoughts, that person is sure to become a "roundhead," and then he will regard himself as an angel of light, his confederates as saints, and will disparage others whoever they may be." Writing in July, 1745, he says: "This country, which some few years ago might be said not to have six persons of any other persuasion than than of the Church of England, is now full of Methodists, or Independents, or Presbyterians, or some other sect, the Lord knows what, I believe they don't themselves. The Welsh name for them is '*pennau crynnion*' (roundheads)."[1] In 1747 he asks his brother Richard of the Admiralty, "What think you? Is John Wesley a saint? I heard his brother holding forth the other day in front of a public house; either he was demented or thought that we were. He was like a man preaching the Gospel to a group of pagans without faith and without knowledge."[2]

The revival meetings proved great attractions. They were also well advertised, and men and women streamed along the roads earnestly hoping to be moved by the power of the Spirit. Not a few, however, worked themselves into an abnormal state of excitement in order to be talked of, thus acquiring a certain degree of fame and importance in their respective localities. The usual scenes at these meetings were very much the same in England and Wales, and they are described by John Wesley as follows: "After the preaching is over, anyone that has a mind gives out a verse of a hymn. This they sing over and over with all their might, perhaps thirty, yea, forty times. Meanwhile, the bodies of two or three, sometimes ten or twelve, are violently

[1] *Morris Letters*, I., 150.
[2] *Ibid*, I., 121.

agitated ; and they leap up and down in all manner of postures for hours together."[1] In time Wesley came to mistrust and discourage these wild manifestations. When he found that the noise and outcries drowned his words the disturbers were removed, and immediately they recovered their senses.

What a man of letters, a worldling, a cynic, like Horace Walpole, thought of Wesley's zeal and preaching is of no importance, but his description of a Methodist chapel as seen by an outsider is interesting. The early Methodist chapels in Wales, if not so elaborate, were more or less according to this plan. In 1766 he wrote : " I have been at one opera, Mr. Wesley's. They have boys and girls with charming voices, that sing hymns, in parts, to Scotch ballad tunes ; but, indeed, so long, that one would think they were already in eternity. The chapel is very neat, with true Gothic windows ; . . . they have neat mahogany stands for branches, and brackets of the same in taste. At the upper end is a broad *hautpas* of four steps, advancing in the middle : at each end of the broadest part are two of *my* eagles, with red cushions for the parson and clerk. Behind them rise three more steps, in the midst of which is a third eagle for pulpit. Scarlet armed chairs to all three. On either hand, a balcony for elect ladies. The rest of the congregation sit on forms. Behind the pit, in a dark niche, is a plain table within rails ; so you see the throne is for the apostle. Wesley is a lean, elderly man, fresh-coloured, his hair smoothly combed, but with a *soupcon* of a curl at the ends. Wondrous clean, but as evidently an actor as Garrick. He spoke his sermon, but so fast, and with so little accent, that I

[1] Wesley's *Journal*, V., 27.

am sure he has often uttered it, for it was like a lesson. There were parts and eloquence in it ; but towards the end he exalted his voice, and acted very ugly enthusiasm ; decried learning, and told stories."[1]

Undoubtedly one of the most prominent of the revivalists in Wales was Howell Harris. He was the son of a small peasant farmer in the parish of Talgarth, and the youngest of three brothers. Joseph, the eldest, was a smith by trade. He tried his fortune in London early in life, and by his energy and ability rose to a high position in the royal mint. He wrote a treatise on Optics and other kindred subjects. The second was Thomas. He was a tailor by trade. He also went to London, and succeeded in business as a clothier, bought farms in Breconshire, and became high sheriff of the county in 1768. Howell was born in January 1713–4, and at an early age appears to have been apprenticed to a tailor. He wanted to become a clergyman, and with that object in view went to a local school. On Palm Sunday, 1735, he heard Pryce Davies, vicar of Talgarth, exhorting his parishioners to partake of the Holy Communion. His words made a profound impression on Harris, and he resolved to lead a new life. On Easter Day he went to the Lord's Table. On Nov. 23, 1735, he was admitted to St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, but his stay was very brief, only a part of one term. He was anxious to be ordained forthwith, but his application was refused. He tried school teaching at home, and began to go from house to house preaching. He sought advice from Griffith Jones, as we learn from a letter written by him to his brother Joseph in London :

[1] Horace Walpole's Letters.

" I have been last week in Carmarthenshire for 6 days. If I should not succeed here Mr. Griffith Jones will help me to a school till I shall be provided for." The vicar of Talgarth appears to have given him a fair chance, for Harris was allowed to open a school in the parish church. His conduct of the school was not satisfactory, and the vicar rebuked him for going about from house to house preaching without authority, " and even within the limits of the Church." Churchmen at the beginning of the eighteenth century were peculiarly suspicious of itinerants, and invariably regarded them as Dissenters or Jesuits. The vicar addressed a strongly worded letter to him in Feb., 1735–6, the last sentence of which is : " If the admonition of your minister will not prevail, I will acquaint your brother of it ; and if you will persist in your way, I must acquaint my diocesan of it, which will prove an immovable obstruction to your ever getting into Holy Orders ; for your continuance in it will give me, as well as others, just reason to conclude that your intellectuals are not sound." Nothing daunted by this rebuke Harris went on as before, and in July of the same year again offered himself for ordination. He gives an account of his reception by the bishop : " I found his lordship, when I waited upon him, with my papers so prepossesed against me that, as soon as he saw my name on the top of my testimonial, he had not patience to see who signed it, but with an offended look gave me a severe check for what I had done, and strict orders for the future to betake myself to my studies, to obey my superiors, and as he had such a set of very good clergy, there was no need of such proceedings, that I must entirely desist, etc. He was so far from asking me my reasons that he

gave me no room to offer them."[1] Thus the door was shut in his face, and his desire to serve the Church as an ordained minister was never realised. For some months before his rejection by the bishop he had visited a number of parishes, and he testifies that there was at that time "a general reformation in several counties; public diversions were laid aside, religion became a common subject of conversation, and places of worship were everywhere crowded."[2] Towards the end of 1736, a man was going from one parish to another to instruct the young people in psalmody. "This," he writes, "afforded me another opportunity of doing good. I accompanied this man in all his journeys; and every evening, when the business of instruction was over, I proceeded to give a word of exhortation." In 1737 a gentleman in Radnorshire invited him to discourse at his house. After this he complied with every invitation, and preached wherever he could find an audience. At the beginning of 1738–9 he received a letter from Whitefield encouraging him to go on. Harris, in his reply, informs Whitefield that a great revival had begun in Cardiganshire through Daniel Rowland, a clergyman, whose labour had also been greatly blessed in Carmarthenshire. Whitefield now determines to visit Wales, and crossing from Bristol to Cardiff met Harris for the first time. Later in the same year he paid a second visit, and from that time onward he became the acknowledged leader of the Methodist movement. Harris now accompanied Whitefield back to England, and superintended the societies generally during Whitefield's

[1] *Trevecka MSS.*, Vol. V., Supplement.
[2] *Life and Times of Howell Harris*, 15–30.—E. Morgan.

absence on his second visit to America. Unpleasant rivalries soon arose, first among the English Methodists and then among the Welsh Methodists. Things were not going on smoothly in Wales, and Whitefield resolved to call the leaders together to Watford, near Caerphilly, on Easter Tuesday, 1743. It was an association of seven persons, four clergymen and three laymen. Their names were George Whitefield, Daniel Rowland, John Powell, William Williams, Howell Harris, John Cennick, Joseph Humphreys. From Watford, Whitefield journeyed in Glamorgan, Carmarthenshire, and Pembrokeshire. By this time he had formed another connection with Wales by marrying Elizabeth James, a widow, of Abergavenny. Gradually a rivalry arose between Harris and Rowland. The latter was well versed in the theology of the early Christian fathers, and alleged that Harris was preaching a heretical doctrine. Worse than that, Harris, who was a married man, had formed a friendship with a married woman of position and wealth during his tour in North Wales. They travelled together for weeks. His friends did their utmost to dissuade him, but to no purpose. Matters at last came to a head. Harris was excommunicated by the association in 1751, and his companion, Madam Griffith, died in 1752. In the meantime he had built a sort of "Home" at Trefecca for his followers, in which they had all things in common under his supervision. He sought and obtained reconciliation with his wife, and regained the friendship of some of his former friends. The number in the Home in 1755 were one hundred and twenty. In 1759, Harris and twenty of the members joined the Breconshire Militia. His apprehension of a French invasion and

the establishment of popery induced him to offer his service. During his military career he preached in various places in his regimentals, and obtained a hearing as an officer of the king. On the conclusion of peace he returned to Trefecca, where he lived in retirement until his death in 1773. His character from first to last is a strange mixture, and most difficult to estimate. Vain, wayward, and impulsive, at times he felt such a spiritual exaltation that his utterances moved the multitude to paroxysms of fear or joy. His comparative failure is due to the fact that he relied too much on feeling. The teacher who resolves faith into feeling, and makes it a justifying cause, cannot reasonably wonder at defection when the feelings have cooled. Feeling has its place, and a very important place in religion, but it is a poor thing without religious principle, and faith without works cannot live.

We have already seen how Williams of Pantycelyn and Peter Williams were reprimanded by the bishop of St. Davids. Can it be said that they were " turned out of the Church ? " Some Methodist writers have definitely asserted that they were turned out for preaching the Gospel. No more serious indictment can be brought against the ecclesiastical authorities of the national Church. Happily the charge is absolutely groundless. William Williams' father was a Dissenter, and his mother a Churchwoman. He was sent to a school kept by a Dissenting minister. Attracted by Howell Harris he set his mind on becoming a clergyman. He was ordained in 1740 by Bishop Claggett to the curacy of Llanwrtyd with Abergwessin, and lived at home about fifteen miles away from his parishes. A number of charges were brought against him, and the bishop

declined to give him priest's orders in 1743. In April of the same year he attended the first Methodist association at Watford, near Caerphilly, and in the Minute Book is the entry : " Agreed that the Rev. Mr. Williams should leave his curacies and be an assistant to the Rev. Mr. Rowland." Thus Williams of Pantycelyn, the great hymn writer of Wales,[1] became an assistant deacon to the curate-priest of Llangeitho.

The case of Peter Williams is unique. He was most unfortunate in his curacies. He was born near Laugharne in 1723, went to school at Llanddowror, and came under the direct influence of Griffith Jones. While a young man at Carmarthen Grammar School he heard George Whitefield, and attributed his conversion to a memorable sermon preached at Carmarthen. He obtained the curacy of Eglwys Gymun, and was ordained by Bishop Trevor in 1744. His non-resident vicar was John Evans, king's chaplain, and the bitter enemy of Griffith Jones and the Welsh Charity Schools. Peter Williams was accused of " Methodism," and all that it implied, and was refused priests orders by the bishop. He succeeded in obtaining another curacy at Swansea. He was again unfortunate. Some of the parishioners strongly objected to his teaching,[2] and he was dismissed. He moved to Llangrannog in Cardiganshire. Opposition arose in this place also, and he found himself stranded. He was a determined young man, full of fiery zeal ; he would not be silenced, and became

[1] He wrote hundreds of hymns as well as many other poems and prose works. Many of his English hymns deserve to be better known. One of them, " Guide me, O thou Great Jehovah," is found in nearly every collection of congregational hymns.

[2] *The Autobiography of Peter Williams.*

an itinerant preacher. Not one of the early Methodists was so brutally treated by the crowds of North Wales as he was. His labours were incessant as an evangelist and author, and his concordance and commentary on the Bible are works of great merit. Notwithstanding his eminent services and fame as a preacher, the Methodist caucus charged him with Sabellianism, and excommunicated him in the seventieth year of his age. It is difficult to account for the bitter hostility of two or three of his former friends. He called himself a Churchman to the end of his life, and in 1792 published a tract exposing the errors of Socinianism, in which he described himself as " former curate of Eglwys Gymun." His former friend, Williams of Pantycelyn, never hesitated in calling himself a Churchman, and a few weeks before his death in 1791 wrote to Thomas Charles of Bala : " God has preserved our connection wonderfully from errors for nearly sixty years. It has not been without many dreadful onsets from without and from within . . . Exhort the young preachers to attend especially, next to the Bible, to the doctrines of our venerable reformers, as set forth in the Articles of the Church of England, and the three creeds—the Apostles,' Nicene, and Athanasian."[1]

We have made it clear that the movement had its origin within the fold of the Church, the leaders were all Churchmen, and continued, in spite of many inconsistencies, to regard themselves as Churchmen to the end.

The next question is, was Daniel Rowland inhibited or suspended ? It is necessary to sift the facts. His

[1] *Essays and Letters of Thomas Charles* (1836), 369, ed. E. Morgan.

father, of the same name, was rector of Llangeitho from 1708 to his death in 1731. Then he was succeeded by his eldest son, John Rowland, and Daniel, in 1732, became a curate to his brother John, officiating at Llangeitho and Llanddewi Brevi. John Rowland appears to have been an indifferent pastor, and lost his life by drowning at Aberystwyth in 1760, but Daniel was well known as an eloquent preacher and revivalist. He was the recognised leader of the Methodists. Thousands from all parts flocked to this little village in Cardiganshire to hear him. When the living became vacant on the death of John Rowland in 1760, a very strange thing happened. So far as we know it was not offered to Daniel Rowland himself, but it was offered to and accepted by his son, a young man of twenty-five, and curate at Shrewsbury. It is not certain whether the living was in the gift of the freeholders of the parish or of the bishop. Whatever happened, we know that the new rector continued to reside at Shrewsbury, and that his father continued to reside at the Llangeitho rectory to the end of his life in 1790. We are driven to the conclusion that Daniel Rowland, who had very powerful friends, desired the appointment of his son. He never complained of his son's preferment, and never explained how it was brought about. The parish church was far too small to contain the large congregations, and Rowland found himself in a position to build a much larger church, in which he preached an administered the Sacraments for thirty years. This church was never consecrated. The question is, was he inhibited? That is conceivable, but there is no record of it. There is only an indefinite tradition that a letter of inhibition, signed by the bishop, was put into his

hand by two clergymen, at the neighbouring Church of Llanddewi Brevi. No evidence of this alleged inhibition has yet been discovered. If such a document exists it has escaped the most diligent search. There is no evidence to indicate that Rowland considered himself unjustly treated—he declined two livings, and never did he speak bitterly against the Mother Church. On his death-bed he told his son, Nathaniel Rowland, who had been educated at Christ Church, Oxford: "Stand by the Church by all means. You will not perhaps be repaid for doing so, yet still stand by it—yea, even unto death."

After the death of Rowland the Methodist leadership passed to Thomas Charles of Bala, a man of good education and a born organiser. He was born near St. Clears, Carmarthenshire, in 1755, and attended the school at Llanddowror. While at the Carmarthen Academy he began to attend the local Methodist meetings. He entered Jesus College, Oxford, in 1775. Who assisted him during his first two years at Oxford, we do not know.[1] He was ordained to the curacy of Queen Camel in Somersetshire, and he remained in this parish for five years, when he returned to Wales, married the daughter of a wealthy tradesman at Bala, and settled in that small Merionethshire town. For a short time he served at Llanymawddwy and also at Shawbury, but he was unable to obtain a desirable sphere near Bala. He refused offers from England and from South Wales. In April, 1785, he wrote to a friend: "I am just this moment come home from three weeks' tour through Carnarvonshire and Anglesey . . . . And first

[1] It is conceivable that his neighbour, Madam Bevan, was his patron.

as to the curacy, I believe I must not entertain the thought of accepting and leaving my present line of labouring in the Lord's vineyard . . . Fresh ground is daily gained. Whole neighbourhoods, where the word has been heretofore opposed, call aloud for the Gospel . . . Whilst the prospect here continues so promising, I cannot in conscience quit the field here and remove to another place."[1] The whole of North Wales became his field of labour as an episcopally ordained itinerant. His constant journeys taxed his strength to the utmost, for none but those episcopally ordained were allowed to administer Baptism and the Holy Communion. Thomas Jones of Denbigh, one of the most prominent of the lay preachers, was called to order for baptizing a child. But not a few of the exhorters were desirous of following the example of the English Methodists, by having some of the most approved among them ordained after the manner of the Dissenters. They pleaded that the few clergymen among them were inadequate to supply the demands of the connexion. In North Wales the Methodist clergy were becoming fewer and fewer, and the gulf betwixt the Church and Methodism was visibly widening. The Methodists acknowledged no authority but that of their own association, and they began to cry aloud, "What have we to do with bishops?" "What share have we in the parish church?" They had already set up an *imperium in imperio*, and communicated not at the parish churches but at centres of their own choice. It is maintained by a contemporary observer that ordinary tact and forbearance, on the part of the spiritual rulers of Wales at this time, might

[1] *Essays and Letters of Thomas Charles*, 360.

have prevented the secession,[1] but we have no hesitation in rejecting that view. It was probably not too late to keep the Methodists within the fold during the lifetime of Griffith Jones. It was perilously late in 1790, and it was too late in 1810. Daniel Rowland, W. Williams, and Peter Williams had passed away. Nathaniel Rowland had been turned out in 1807. The lay preachers were getting out of hand, and David Griffiths of Nevern, the most influential of the Methodist clergy, spoke severe words to the Methodists of Pembrokeshire, and broke his connection with them. David Jones of Llangan and Thomas Jones of Creaton strenuously opposed the ordination of the lay preachers; and even Thomas Charles withstood the proposal for a number of years. The Methodists, at their association held at Bala in 1801, declared: "We do not designedly dissent or look upon ourselves as Dissenters from the Established Church. In doctrine we exactly agree with the Articles of the Church of England, and preach no other doctrines but what are contained or expressed in them." There were, however, causes at work which tended inevitably to a division. The Puritanism of some of the leaders was pronounced, and distasteful to the clerical party. The clergy complained that the parish churches were neglected on account of the constant intrusions of the lay preachers. And then the Conventicle Act of 1664 was employed by the Government to compel the Methodist societies to register their meeting-houses as places of Nonconformist worship. The grievances of the leading Methodist exhorters and elders came to a head at an association held at Bala, presided over by Charles. He had not the strong and imperious individuality of

[1] *Life of Thomas Charles.*—Rev. E. Morgan, Vicar of Syston.

Daniel Rowland, and he was attacked on all sides. A prominent lay preacher from Cardiganshire, Ebenezer Morris, publicly asked him, "Which is the more important, preaching the Gospel or administering the the Sacraments?" Charles replied that preaching the Gospel was the more important. A wave of enthusiasm and rejoicing passed over the assembly. The separatists had won the day. Charles retreated to his house, admitted defeat, and tearfully declared that he would seek another curacy in England. The curious part of it all is that Charles was defeated by false reasoning, and pushed over the precipice by astute men like Thomas Jones of Denbigh. The Methodists have always attached to administering the Sacraments the greatest importance and dignity. Boys and girls preach, but they do not administer the Sacraments. Many remain lay preachers to the end of their lives. No one is allowed to administer the Sacraments without a searching examination and ordination by elders. Charles gave way, and after conferences and discussions, eight lay preachers were selected for what was called "ordination" at Bala in 1811, and eleven more were selected for ordination at Llandilo in the same year. Thus the greatest revival which was fostered and nourished by Griffith Jones, Daniel Rowland, and Williams of Pantycelyn, ended in open schism. The Church in many parishes was hit very seriously. It was grievously wounded by its so-called friends. The English bishops did not count in any way, but there was a division in families, and a feeling of intense bitterness and hostility was engendered. This feeling lived long. Even at Llangeitho the people would not receive the association among them on account of their opposition to the

ordained preachers, and declined to receive the chalice from John Roberts as assistant though Charles himself celebrated.[1]

It is interesting to note how the various districts in Wales were affected by the secession. Breconshire, where Howell Harris began his career, remained true on the whole to the Church. Those who had separatist sympathies attached themselves to the Independents and Baptists. In Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire the great majority of the Methodists left the Church and built chapels of their own. In Pembrokeshire and Glamorganshire the secession was comparatively insignificant, but it resulted in the rapid growth of the older Dissenting bodies, represented by the Independents and the Baptists. The cleavage in North Wales was almost complete. The Methodists left the Church almost in a body, and Methodism became a powerful organization with Bala as a holy city. The new sect was fostered by men of outstanding ability and eloquence, such as Thomas Jones of Denbigh and John Elias of Anglesey. In South Wales, also, there were powerful and attractive preachers, such as Ebenezer Morris, David Charles, Ebenezer Richard, Thomas Richard, and John Williams of Pantycelyn.

Of the Methodist clergy who disapproved of the ordination of the lay preachers, the most prominent were David Jones, rector of Llangan, David Griffiths, vicar of Nevern, and Thomas Jones, rector of Spratton, Northamptonshire. David Jones was a notable preacher, and on account of his saintly character was highly respected by all parties. He died a few months before the secession. David Griffiths, vicar of Nevern,

[1] *Cofiant Daniel Rowland*, 50.—D. Worthington.

was a man of commanding presence and a pulpit orator of the first rank. He survived the Methodist secession for over twenty years, and died in 1834. Thomas Jones was a native of Cardiganshire. In early life he was greatly attracted by the preaching of Daniel Rowland. He served curacies in Cardiganshire, Herefordshire, and Shropshire, but in every parish he went to some opposition arose on account of his enthusiasm or Methodism. Charles Simeon found an opening for him at Creaton in the parish of Spratton, Northamptonshire. In this parish he served as curate, and later as rector, for forty-eight years. He died a nonagenarian in 1845, having outlived all the revivalists. Even after the secession the Methodists were reluctant to call themselves Dissenters, and as late as 1834 passed a resolution dissociating themselves from "that agitation, now so prevalent in this kingdom, and which avowedly has for its object the severing of the National Church from the State, and other changes in ecclesiastical affairs." John Elias, the greatest preacher Welsh Methodism has ever produced, never wished any unkindness to be manifested towards the Church of England. A good understanding existed between him and the clergy, and he advised many of his young friends to seek ordination in the Church. He wrote in his diary: "No true and sincere Methodist can be opposed to the Established Church, or to tribute and tithes to support it. Its ministers were the most celebrated instruments in the commencement and advancement of Methodism in Wales, and from the hands of those ministers the Methodists received the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper for upwards of sixty years. When circumstances arose, which obliged the Methodists to set apart

some of the elder preachers to administer the ordinances, it was not intended to make an essential alteration with regard to the form and order of the body. It was merely the setting apart of some to assist ministers of the Established Church, whilst they were among us."[1] The account which he gives of his early religious training goes far to contradict the statements which are perpetually made, that the Church was lifeless about the middle of the eighteenth century. Born in a small tenement in 1774, in the parish of Abererch, Carnarvonshire, he testifies to the character of an old Churchman of the eighteenth century in these eloquent words: "My grandfather would set before me, when capable of understanding it, the evil and danger of using bad words, lying and swearing, and taking God's name in vain; also of breaking the Sabbath . . . As soon as I was able to walk with my grandfather to the parish church I was obliged to go with him there every Sabbath. He was a true Churchman. There were at that time no Methodists, to the best of my knowledge, in that neighbourhood. There was, however, a small chapel, that belonged to a few people of that denomination, within about two miles of us. My grandfather used to have family worship in his house morning and evening. He would read a chapter in the Bible, with Mr. P. Williams' exposition, then he would pray in one of those excellent forms of Mr. G. Jones, Llanddowror, in a very devout and serious manner."[2] In spite of this testimony it is clear that the Churchmanship of some of the best informed Churchmen of the day was of a very indefinite type. The bishops were usually non-resident pluralists,

[1] *Memoir of John Elias* (1844), 199.—Edward Morgan.
[2] *Ibid*, 3–5.

and seldom administered Confirmation; and when the bishop of Bangor held a Confirmation at Holyhead in 1751, this is how an old Churchman like William Morris describes the event: "This is a day misspent while staring at the bishop of Bangor laying his hands on a number of people, both old and young. I had not seen this ceremony since Bishop Evans gave you and our brother Llywelyn a 'bishop's baptism' at Llanerchymedd well nigh 40 years ago. I do not half like the thing as they carry it on; it resembles the pomps and vanities of the Church of Rome far too much."[1]

II.

Amid the depressing surroundings of the Methodist separation, with the Baptists and Independents increasing in every district, and with very indifferent prelates at Llandaff, St. Asaph, and Bangor, one figure stands out in bright relief, that of Thomas Burgess, bishop of St. Davids (1803—1825). The new bishop received his education at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, of which he became a fellow and tutor. He became a chaplain to the bishop of Durham, a canon of the cathedral, and vicar of Winston-on-Tees, where he gained valuable parochial experience, before his preferment to the large diocese of St. Davids. The bishop was in the prime of life, and began at once to introduce much-needed reforms The year after his enthronement a Church Union Society was established in the diocese, with the object of providing books and financial support to candidates for the ministry of the Church. He insisted

[1] *Morris Letters*, I., 179.

on an adequate course of training before admitting any candidate to Holy Orders. Although the income of St. Davids was not large, Burgess was enabled to give freely to the various organizations which he had called to life, from his private income, and the income accruing from a prebendal stall at Durham. The only school of note was Ystradmeurig, where many of the clergy received their education. The ancient collegiate seminaries had long been stripped bare of their revenues by lay impropriators, and the general poverty of the benefices rendered any scheme depending on financial assistance from the clergy impracticable. Nothing daunted, Burgess cherished the aim of founding and endowing a college on the Oxford and Cambridge model. By setting aside a fixed portion of his yearly revenue, and by inducing a number of the well-to-do among his clergy to devote a tenth of their income to the same purpose, he succeeded after fifteen years in collecting the sum of £11,000. In 1822 he laid the foundation stone of St. David's College, Lampeter. Before he had time to develop his plans fully he was translated in 1825 to Salisbury. He was a scholar and author of high repute, but he is remembered to-day in Wales only as a great bishop, and the founder of St. David's College. Strange to relate, it was the fixed opinion of this good man that Welsh Methodism was due to the prevalence of the Welsh language, and for that reason it was his policy in all his proposed changes to anglicize the Welsh Church. It seems inexplicable that a man of his clear brain failed to see that the real causes of Methodism in England were very much the same as in Wales, and that Welsh Methodists only followed the lead of the English Methodists. While

supporting the bishop in his attempts to raise the standard of education, Eliezer Williams, vicar of Lampeter, and a clergyman of note, knew only too well that the general introduction of the English language and methods would inevitably lead to irreligion or dissent, as it had done in the past. A passage from the Biography of Eliezer Williams, written by his son, the Rev. St. George Williams, will illustrate the divergence of opinion which existed on Church policy: "His lordship felt anxious, as was certainly very natural, that the schools should be organized on a plan that would tend to the ultimate extinction of a language of which he himself was ignorant; while my father, being thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances and habits of the flock under his care, knew by experience that his people were not able to receive religious instruction in any other tongue, and that to persist in such a scheme would drive away the Church members that yet remained." Another expression of opinion is found in a letter written in 1828 by Peter Bayley Williams to Walter Davies (*Gwallter Mechain*), the most scholarly and best-known clergymen in their time: "I agree with you in thinking it as highly improper to confer Welsh preferment on Englishmen. Our bishop boasted (H. W. Majendie, bishop of Bangor, 1809—1830), when he first came into the diocese, that he intended introducing some Saxons among the Welsh to improve, and humanize, and civilize them. The English seem to consider the Welsh as half savages. What blindness!"[1] In the diocese of St. Davids the great work begun by Burgess was carried on with energy by Connop Thirlwall, a scholar of European fame; but

[1] *Gwaith Gwallter Mechain*, III., 445.

he was a man of wider sympathies, and he abandoned the English policy *in toto*. He not only encouraged Welsh preaching and Welsh literature, but set to in middle age to learn the language, and succeeded admirably. He not only preached and confirmed frequently in Welsh, but published a large volume of Welsh sermons. His contemporary at Llandaff, Alfred Ollivant, applied himself to the same purpose, and acquired a proficient knowledge of Welsh. Bishop Vowler Short of St. Asaph was a far-seeing educationist. In 1847 he formed a Diocesan Board of Education, and appointed twenty-six secretaries to assist in carrying out his plan of education. New schools were built, and an organizing superintendent was appointed for the diocese. The bishop provided textbooks for the schools, in which the lessons were printed in both English and Welsh on opposite pages.[1] Between 1859 and 1866 twenty-two new schools were erected and equipped. When the bishop resigned in 1870 there was not a parish with a non-resident incumbent or without its school and church in order.

During these years the new college at Lampeter was supplying the Welsh Church with clergy. They were years of progress and expansion. But an incident happened which caused much commotion and pain. Rowland Williams, the vice-principal, a brilliant scholar, poet, and divine, published a volume of his Cambridge and Lampeter sermons with the title *Rational Godliness*. He was immediately attacked by the evangelical party. Bishop Ollivant of Llandaff called upon him to resign his chaplaincy. Bishop

[1] *Landmarks in the History of the Welsh Church*, 266.—Archbishop of Wales.

Thirlwall suggested his resignation of the vice-principalship. Williams was born in 1817 at Halkyn in Flintshire, the eldest son of Canon Rowland Williams of St. Asaph. He was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, of which he became a fellow. In 1850 he went to St. David's College, Lampeter, as vice-principal and professor of Hebrew. Now after twelve years, during which the entire system of the college in education and finance was remodelled by him, he found himself seriously attacked. His heart was in Wales, and he tarried until after the publication of the famous *Essays and Reviews*, to which he contributed an essay on "Biblical Researches," before sending in his resignation. His popularity in the town and college was great, but when he mounted the pulpit in the college chapel to preach his farewell sermon, the principal, followed by most of the staff, marched out leaving the vice-principal alone with the students. In the midst of the agitation the university of Cambridge conferred upon him the degree of doctor of divinity. He lived for twelve years afterwards as vicar of Broadchalke in Wilts. The bishop of Salisbury was persuaded to take proceedings against him as a contributor of one of the "Essays," but these proceedings, through an appeal to the Privy Council, resulted eventually in an acquittal. The whole agitation, as we look back upon it, fills us with astonishment. Some of the other contributors were raised from dignity to dignity, but Rowland Williams was sacrificed, and left to languish in a small country parish.

It is extremely difficult to believe that a serious attempt was made about the middle of the nineteenth century to suppress the bishopric of St. Asaph, and

divert its revenues to the new bishopric of Manchester. The proposal was not only made to divert the whole of the revenues of a poor Welsh bishopric in order to create a new English bishopric in the rich city of Manchester, but would undoubtedly have been carried through had it not been for the strenuous opposition of the two Rowland Williamses, father and son, and a few others. They enlisted the strong support of the earl of Powis, who withstood the proposal with such energy in the House of Lords that the proposers began to feel ashamed, and the amazing scheme was withdrawn.

An event of appreciable importance was the revision of the Welsh Book of Common Prayer, which was completed in 1841. The history of this event enables us to see who were the real ecclesiastical leaders in Wales during the first half of the nineteenth century. John Jones (*Tegid*), a poet and antiquary, and precentor of Christ Church, Oxford, had undertaken to superintend a bilingual edition of the Prayer Book for the S.P.C.K. The arbitrary changes which he introduced into Welsh orthography were strenuously opposed by Chancellor Bruce Knight and others. William van Mildert, bishop of Llandaff, who resided at Coldbrook Park, Abergavenny, wrote to Jones in 1822: "I have now to state that upon receiving the proof sheets of the Welsh Prayer Book, which you sent, I transmitted one of them to St. Asaph, and the other I put into the hands of the chancellor of Llandaff Church, who is my examining chaplain, and a very excellent Welsh scholar. *His* opinion of the work is by no means favourable, and so many errors are pointed out by him that I feel convinced in my own mind that the work ought not to be

conducted according to this specimen of it. From St. Asaph I have not yet received an answer." John Jones did not proceed with the Prayer Book, but he brought out a duoglot New Testament in 1826.[1] Such a storm was raised against the new orthography introduced that both the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the British and Foreign Bible Society repudiated the editor, and this New Testament was withdrawn from circulation. A considerable controversy arose, in which the chief antagonists were John Jones and Bruce Knight. All agreed that a revised edition had become a necessity, and the bishops were induced to appoint competent revisers in 1837, one from each diocese, with a secretary. The five appointed were ripe scholars, and eminently fitted for the work. They were Canon Rowland Williams of St. Asaph, Chancellor Bruce Knight of Llandaff, Archdeacon John Jones of Bangor, Prof. Rice Rees of Lampeter, with Morris Williams (*Nicander*), a young Oxford graduate of high distinction, as secretary. No better choice could have been made. Their combined efforts resulted in the revised version of 1841. It is impossible not to admire the wisdom and judgment of these good men. The history of their labours and correspondence has been admirably written and published.[2]

William Bruce Knight was a truly wonderful man. Born in Devonshire, with an English father, and a partly Scotch and partly Welsh mother, he spent his childhood near Cowbridge in Glamorgan. He was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, and began his

[1] *Gwaith Gwallter Mechain*, III., 211—260.

[2] *A Chapter in the History of the Welsh Book of Common Prayer* (1922), 3 Vols.—Archdeacon A. O. Evans.

clerical career as curate of St. Fagan's. The services were conducted in the Welsh language, and young Knight devoted his leisure hours to the study of Welsh and Hebrew. He became vicar of Margam, and there he remained for the greater part of his life. His vicarage became a general depôt for religious books. He sold many hundreds of Bibles, Prayer Books, and Religious Tracts. His activities grew each year. As bishop's chaplain, chancellor of the diocese, archdeacon, and finally dean, he was the general supervisor of the diocese of Llandaff. In addition to his other duties he took a keen interest in the eisteddfod, and acted as adjudicator, conductor, and president. He was also a notable Welsh preacher, in great request for the re-opening of churches after restoration. He started in 1835 the Llandaff Diocesan Society, in order to obtain aid for building and enlarging churches in the diocese. When he was raised to the deanery of Llandaff in 1843, the appointment was hailed with satisfaction by all the clergy.[1] Knight threw in his whole energy into his new field of labour. He found the cathedral almost a ruin. He began at once to collect money, and succeeded in roofing the ancient fane. His death intervened in 1845, in his sixtieth year, and the work of restoration was left to others. Amiable, unaffected, and eloquent in no common degree, this very good man deserves to be kept in remembrance.

Rowland Williams was the son of a well-to-do farmer in the parish of Mallwyd, county of Merioneth. Having received his early education at Ruthin he proceeded to Jesus College, Oxford. He became a master at the Friars School, Bangor, and in due time he was preferred

[1] Contemporary Articles in the *Haul*.

to the benefice of Halkyn, in Flintshire, and became examining chaplain to the bishop of St. Asaph, and canon of the cathedral. His eldest son was the celebrated Rowland Williams of the *Essays and Reviews*. This eminently good and learned priest did his work unostentatiously, but the part he played, as contributor and editor, in connection with Welsh magazines, was by no means insignificant. He was one of the editors of the old *Gwyliedydd*, a periodical of far-reaching influence, and he was a frequent contributor to the *Cambro-Briton*. He was a first rate scholar, and an earnest, pious, hard-working parish priest, and it is difficult to understand why he was not raised to the episcopal bench.

Rice Rees died a comparatively young man. He was educated at Lampeter Grammar School under Eliezer Williams, and afterwards at Jesus College, Oxford, of which he became a fellow. His chief contribution to literature is an "Essay on the Welsh Saints," which is still regarded as an authority. When he died in 1839 he was bishop's chaplain and professor at Lampeter College.

John Jones was born at Cadoxton-juxta-Barry, and received his early education at Cowbridge. In due time he proceeded to Jesus College, Oxford, and became a fellow and tutor of his college. He returned to Wales as vicar of Bodedern, in Anglesey. Then he was preferred to Holyhead, and afterwards to Llanfachraeth, and to the archdeaconry of Bangor. The most important work he published was a new translation in excellent Welsh of Thomas a Kempis' *Imago Christi*.

The young secretary, Morris Williams, was in no way behind the others in scholarship and ability. This

young man, who worked at the carpenter's bench in early life, was befriended by generous patrons, and enabled to go to King's School, Chester, and afterwards to Jesus College, Oxford, where he graduated with high classical honours. He was ordained to the curacy of Holywell, and it was during his stay at Holywell that he assisted the revisers of the Welsh Book of Common Prayer. From Holywell he went to Bangor. His first preferment was to Amlwch in Anglesey. His stay of sixteen years at this remote Anglesey town synchronised with a large output of literary work. He became known in every household in Wales under his bardic name of Nicander, and even at this distance of time it is impossible not to admire his marvellous industry. He brought out a new translation of the *Book of Homilies*, a new metrical version of the Psalms, and a *Christian Year*, in Welsh, in imitation of Keble's, but in no sense a translation. He translated "*Disce Vivere*" and "*Disce Mori*," by Christopher Sutton, and turned Esop's Fables into delightful Welsh verse. He published a scholarly work on the Prophets, and contributed hundreds of articles to the Welsh Church magazines, and for a number of years he read the proofs of all Welsh publications by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. He spent the last fifteen years of his life at Llanrhuddlad, a remote benefice in Anglesey. He was an excellent parish priest, and ranked high as an eloquent preacher. It is an amazing fact that this accomplished scholar, eminent poet, admirable critic, eloquent preacher, indefatigable parish priest, who died in 1874, at the age of sixty four, received no suitable recognition of his services from the Church authorities of his time. Morris Williams was an undergraduate

at Jesus College, during the spring tide of the Oxford movement, and drank deeply of the spirit of those stirring times, in which another Welshman played a leading part.

The story of the Oxford movement has been told again and again, but it may be doubted whether the part played by Isaac Williams, fellow and vice-president of Trinity College, has been adequately recognized. He was born in 1802 at Cwmcynfelyn, near Aberystwyth. The first Tractarian Church in England and Wales was erected and endowed by his family at Llangorwen, near the family seat. Daily services were said in Welsh. All saints' days were observed. All the doctrines of the Tractarians were taught, and confessions were heard by the parish priest. The first incumbent was Lewis Gilbertson, whose Welsh sermons and intense devotion attracted large and appreciative congregations. After about ten years of faithful service Gilbertson returned to Oxford as vice-principal of Jesus College. The movement had many other supporters in various parts of Wales. Evan Lewis, dean of Bangor; Constable Ellis of Llanfairfechan; G. Arthur Jones of Cardiff; George Huntington of Tenby, deserve to be remembered with gratitude. Besides the impetus given by earnest men of Tractarian views, the preaching of eloquent men of the older evangelical school did much to revive the Church in Wales. John Griffiths of Llandilo, David Parry of Llywel, Archdeacon Griffiths of Neath, Dean Edwards of Bangor, William Evans of Rhymney, Edward Thomas of Skewen, David Howell of Wrexham, were notable preachers. And after an experiment of two hundred years the Government recognized the futility of appointing English bishops

to Welsh bishoprics. With the appointment of Joshua Hughes to St. Asaph and William Basil Jones to St. Davids, the eighteenth century policy was abandoned.

The eighteenth century saw the rise of many notable hymn writers. A collection of hymns by M.J. and Edmund Williams appeared in 1741, another by Howell Harris, Daniel Rowland, and others, in 1742. These were followed by collections of hymns by W. Williams, Dafydd Jones of Caio, Morgan Rhys, Jenkin Jones, Harri Sion, Dafydd William, Benjamin Francis, Thomas Jones of Denbigh, David Charles, and others. Some seventy or eighty verses attributed to Ann Griffiths of Llanfyllin have a remarkable history. It is said that they were recited by the authoress, as they were composed, to a young domestic named Ruth, who preserved them in memory and repeated them to others. They were afterwards written down from her dictation, and published in 1806, with an introduction by Thomas Charles of Bala. It is impossible to know what emendations or additions, if any, were made by the copyist and revisers.

As far back as 1765 one of the finest prose writings ever produced in Welsh was published by John Evans. The book was called *Cysondeb y Pedair Efengyl*, and it is the first attempt at a real Welsh commentary. The distinguished author was a native of the parish of Llangeitho, a graduate of Oxford, and known in his day as "*Ffeiriad Plymouth.*" His first curacy was at Llanarth, whence he removed to Portsmouth. He published a translation of Bishop Gastrell's *Christian Institutes*, in 1773. A book of 414 pages, called *Y Credadyn Bucheddol*, appeared in 1768. It was a translation of Kettlewell's work by Risiart ap Robert, who

was assisted by William Wynn, Ieuan Brydydd Hir, and Richard Morris. Another earlier work was *Y Fuchedd Gris'nogol*, published in 1752 by Joshua Thomas, vicar of Llanbister. In 1761, Thomas Jones, vicar of Pennant, published *Rheol o Addoliad*, and in 1778, *Traethiadau ar Gatecism Eglwys Loegr*. The latter is a book of 433 pages. An English translation of the poems of the renowned vicar of Llandovery by William Evans, vicar of Llawhaden, appeared in 1771. A diligent writer, poet, transcriber, and collector of manuscripts was David Ellis, who served as curate or vicar at Derwen, Amlwch, Llanberis, and Criccieth. He published *Llawlyfr o Weddiau, Ymarfer o'r Grefydd Gristnogol*, and *Histori yr Iesu*. As a collector of Welsh manuscripts he was second to none. He died in 1795. John Williams, curate and schoolmaster at Llanrwst, who died in 1826, was another indefatigable collector of literary treasures, and his valuable collection is now preserved at the National Library. We have an instance of a notable parish priest, existing on the pitiable stipend of £24 a year, in John Morgan of Llanberis, whose fervid preaching and holy life attracted large and appreciative congregations. An English clergyman, named C. J. La Trobe, paid a visit to Llanberis in 1795, and afterwards described what he saw and heard.[1] It is an eloquent testimony to the piety and goodness of a man who was probably unknown except in his own locality. A native of Cardiganshire, he was for some years curate of Lledrod and Gwnnws. He died in 1801, and left no memorial except two published sermons.

The revival of Welsh literature, which was fostered by the Morris brothers, Ieuan Brydydd Hir, Edward

[1] *Letters to my Children.*—Rev. C. J. La Trobe.

Richard, Goronwy Owen, Iolo Morgannwg, and the Gwyneddigion, was zealously encouraged by such Churchmen as Dafydd Ddu Eryri, Dafydd Ionawr, Gwallter Mechain, Daniel Ddu, Dewi Silin, Bardd Nantglyn, Gutyn Peris, Y Dryw, Jenkins of Kerry, Richards of Berriew. These men endeavoured to popularise Welsh literature, and they did much towards resuscitating the eisteddfod. Gwallter Mechain was regarded for forty years as the leading authority on the rules of *Cerdd Dafod*, and as an antiquary and genealogist he had no compeer. His collected writings in three volumes show the marvellous industry and aptitude of the man.[1] The names of those clergymen who distinguished themselves as poets and writers in the nineteenth century deserve to be better known. Most readers have heard of Alun, Tegid, Ieuan Glan Geirionydd, Carnhuanawc, Carn Ingli, Ab Ithel, Nicander, Glasynys, Glanmor, Glanffrwd, Tudno, Elis Wyn o Wyrfai, Silvan Evans, W. J. Rees, Rice Rees, Rowland Williams, Dean Edwards, but there are many others whose names should be remembered with gratitude, such as, John Roberts of Tremeirchion, Archdeacon John Williams, Dewi o Ddyfed, Llallawg, Eliezer Williams, P. Bayley Williams, Robert Jones of Rotherhithe, Robert Roberts, Canon Robert Williams, D. R. Thomas, W. L. Bevan, Idrisyn, John Pryce, Bishop Basil Jones, Bishop Lewis Lloyd, Eilir Evans, Gwynionydd, and others. That there were indifferent clergymen who neglected their duties, and others who were a disgrace to their sacred vocation, cannot be denied, but these cases of inebriety, or incapacity, or moral laxity, should not blind our eyes to the merits of the vast majority. The old clergy

[1] *Gwaith Gwallter Mechain*, ed. D. Silvan Evans.

lived in a lax age when the parishioners expected much conviviality from the parson, and when excessive drinking was prevalent among the gentry.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, on account of the Methodist secession, and during the second half, on account of a violent disestablishment campaign, Welsh Churchmen were not in a position to give a whole-hearted attention to the missionary efforts of the century. There were, however, some notable Welsh missionaries. Henry Williams went out to New Zealand in 1822, and he was followed by his brother William in 1825. These two brothers were the evangelists of the Maori race, and proved to be the makers of the colony of New Zealand. "No other two men, in the whole history of Church of England missions, have done a greater work than they."[1] Griffith Griffiths, a native of Cardiganshire, educated at Lampeter Grammar School, was ordained by the bishop of London, and went in 1825 to Jamaica. He died in 1845, after a remarkably successful career as a missionary. Thomas Bevan and David Jones, natives of Cardiganshire, were among the first Christian missioners to Madagascar. They were followed in 1820 by David Johns, who continued to labour in the island for many years in the face of the bitterest persecution. China will long cherish the memory of the Welshmen, Griffith John and Hopkin Rees. But the Welsh Church has produced no greater missionary in recent times than John Thomas of Tinnevelly. Born in 1807 in the parish of Trelech, he received his education at Carmarthen. For nine years he was a solicitor's clerk at Carmarthen and Pembroke. During his stay at the latter town he came

[1] Short History of the C.M.S., 44.

under the good influence of the Rev. J. B. Byers, vicar of Lamphey,[1] who had spent twelve years of his life as a soldier in India. In 1833 he was admitted to the Church Missionary College at Islington, and in 1836 he sailed for India. While endeavouring to master the Tamil language, he declared that his knowledge of Welsh proved of great assistance to him. The splendid Church at Mengnanapuram is a standing memorial to his worth. At his death, in 1870, there were over eleven thousand Christian adherents in his district.

When the Church was going on from strength to strength, and rapidly regaining lost ground, a campaign of calumny was started by a few people. The agitation spread rapidly throughout the country, and the powerful support of the proprietor of the *Banner*, and the whole of the Nonconformist press, was enlisted in its favour. It was a campaign nominally against what was described as "the alien establishment," but really against the payment of tithe and glebe rents, which were said to be "national property." The agitation continued to gather strength in the country and in Parliament, with the result that the ancient Church in Wales, which had already been crippled and impoverished by Norman, Tudor, and Puritan oppressors, lost the remnants of its old endowments by another devastating Act of Parliament. The tithe, however, continues to be paid to a secular authority, and the impropriated tithe is still paid to the lay impropriator. Fortunately, the blow fell when the Church had gathered strength and solidarity, and it immediately braced itself for new victories. Possibly the disestablishment and disendow-

[1] *Memoir of the Rev. John Thomas.*—A. H. Grey-Edwards.

ment of the Church, by and by, will be seen only as an episode in a larger movement, which will culminate in the re-union of the divided forces of Christendom.

A development of far-reaching importance was the founding of the Llandaff Theological College for post-graduates in 1892. Canon Johnson laboured in season and out of season to build up the college on a secure foundation. A large number of clergy in England and Wales have benefited from their training at this college. With the four university colleges, Lampeter College, and Llandaff College, educational advantages are now within the reach of all the youths of Wales, and there is no lack of candidates for ordination.

The language question is causing much trouble and anxiety to some religious leaders. It should be clearly understood that the Church of Christ attaches no importance to nationality or language. It is competent to embrace all nations and languages. If the English and Welsh languages cease to be the most useful medium for Christian purposes, it will be the duty of the Church to give them up. For hundreds of years the language of the Western Church was Latin. Whether Welsh will die in the same way as Cornish, at some future time, we know not. The question for the Church to decide is, which is the most convenient language to bring people into the way of salvation. The perpetuity of any language becomes a small matter when we consider future ages, and the message of the Holy Catholic Church to all nations, which is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.

CONCLUSION.

THE phenomena of history consist of human thoughts and actions, and the chief function of the historian is to trace the relation and sequence of such thoughts and actions. The dawn of history tells us of more than one race which inhabited the island of Britain in comparative isolation. That isolation was gradually broken by conquests and invasions, and by the influence of the thought of Western Europe. With the conquerors came a new light, a new civilization, and a new system of government. The barbarism of the fair island of the West passed away with the coming of the Romans and Christianity, and a new era of progress was inaugurated in the arts of life, and the prosperity that springs from them. Four hundred years of Roman rule were followed by a period of interminable warfare, massacre, tyranny, oppression, and darkness. The light went out over a great part of the island, to be rekindled again by missioners from Rome. In the meantime a prophet arose in a distant corner of Cambria, and carried a new torch of Christian light to the remote vales and hillsides of the western land, and even across the sea to the Hibernian Isle. The remnants of the Britons in the west became known as the *Cymry*, and the united Cymric race once more offered strenuous resistance to the heathen invaders. We cannot but admire its tenacity as we see it gathering

strength to resist aggression, and secure a free path for the working out of its own destiny. There came to it times of advance, succeeded by times of reaction and retrogression, now a crisis of effort and aspiration, now a period of lassitude and despair. We have traced the history of the Church in Wales during the Norman period, when the conqueror was spreading his eagle wings from sea to sea, and we have shown how it struggled to maintain its ancient independence. Geographical boundaries, the dividing mountain ranges, and the broad estuary of the Severn, failed to keep out the invading foe. We have seen how Glyndwr's efforts might have succeeded under more favourable conditions, and how his unfortunate revolt was followed by a period of depressing gloom. There was a brief respite during the reign of the first Tudor king, when Welshmen breathed again, and dared to possess their own souls. A few years of progress were followed by an overwhelming catastrophe, the worst that has befallen the Church in Wales during the whole course of its history. Its ancient endowments, its noble abbeys, its educational establishments, its relics, its shrines, its creed, were all swept away by one fell swoop. Out of the gloom light shone out again; and when the voice of praise had almost ceased throughout the land, and when the old pastors had been silenced by death or driven to exile, mercy and truth came with healing in their wings. No greater benefactors have ever appeared in Wales than Richard Davies, William Salesbury, Edmund Prys, and William Morgan. These remarkable men gave Welshmen the Bible in their ancient tongue. Once more the Church revived and greatly renewed its strength. Joy and gladness were heard within its gates. Once more

it was wounded, crippled, stripped bare, and for a time set aside. The Puritan movement was an alien wave which swept over the Welsh Church, and left behind it a vast amount of *debris*. We have seen how the Churchmen of the restoration period strove to re-open the doors which had been closed, and to repair the waste places, how the clergy struggled with poverty, how the niggardliness of the lay impropriators of land and tithe paralyzed their efforts, and how a revival commenced towards the beginning of the eighteenth century. When irreligion, profaneness, and atheism, were spreading all over England, and when good men were despairing of their country, a vision was given to Griffith Jones in a remote parish in Wales, and the bright light of that vision never faded out of his life. The fire which was kindled at Laugharne and Llanddowror spread not only over Wales, but it reached Oxford, London, and the American Colonies. No part of the story is more heartrending than that which relates to the indifference or blindness of the ecclesiastical rulers of the eighteenth century, who had it in their power to guide a great movement within the fold of the Church. They left it like a ship in a storm to drift violently towards the sand banks, and when the Methodists withdrew the Church looked like a destitute wreck. Again there was a wonderful revival, schools were built, cathedrals were restored, a college for the training of the clergy was erected, societies were formed, literature flourished, able preachers arose, and the sheep began to return to the fold. Once more it was mercilessly attacked from without, and again overthrown by an Act of Parliament; many thought that this crushing blow would extinguish its life but instead of lingering as a relic of the past,

the Church showed signs of superabundant life. A fund was organized forthwith, to which Welsh Churchmen in tens of thousands willingly contributed; a new constitution was set up, a new province was formed, two new dioceses were carved out, clerical stipends have been raised, and pensions set aside for widows and orphans as well as for aged clergy. The whole ecclesiastical system has been re-adjusted. The Church was never more in touch with the people than to-day, and Churchmen and Nonconformists have learned to know each other as never before. After eighteen centuries it displays a new vigour and an unexampled capacity of adjusting itself to new conditions. After all the transformations it has undergone, it stands before the world preaching the same unalterable truths as those taught by the first messengers of the faith in our land. What the future may bring forth we know not. The influence of English theological literature is felt, criticized, and analyzed. There is a real danger of the Church in Britain being cloyed by unwholesome diet, which is too often superciliously provided in the name of "sound scholarship." The country parson is no longer isolated, town and country are linked together by a system of locomotion. He is in no danger of becoming what Sydney Smith called "a holy vegetable," but he is in the gravest danger of becoming a wheelwright. In times past the country parsonages were the workshops of great thinkers, and from which great books were issued, as those of Hooker, Butler, Paley, Heber, Keble, Milman, Thirlwall, Church, Kingsley, Moberly, Creighton. This was especially the case in Wales. Those who are familiar with the history of the Church in the Principality are well acquainted

with such names as Llanrhaiadr, Maentwrog, Mallwyd, Llandovery, Devynock, Llanddowror, Llangar, Lasynys, Llangeitho, Manafon, Llanwrin. The greatest need of this age of transition is a re-awakening of the spiritual consciousness of the people, a renewal of the moral authority of the Church in common life. In the past there has been much materialism and atheism, but there are many signs that the tide is turning, the shadows are lifting, the dawn is breaking. Religion is a great power in Wales, and it will become a greater power in the future than ever in the past.

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